

RAPHAEL GIVEON

THE IMPACT  
OF EGYPT ON CANAAN

Iconographical and Related Studies

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ  
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN  
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\* Newly written for this volume.

o Translated from the Hebrew.





## FOREWORD

This collection of papers does not pretend to be an introduction or survey of iconography – not even a full account of Egyptian influences on Canaanite or Israelite concepts in religion and art. These chapters are for the most part the results of years of contacts with Canaanite and Israelite objects of art. Many of them were brought to my attention by collectors, amateurs of archaeology; others were submitted to me by excavators of various ancient sites. The amateurs referred to here have for the greatest part this in common: they are members of Kibbutzim, collective settlements throughout Israel. The development of a Kibbutz involves a great many activities which bring antiquities to the surface. The main causes are building and ploughing. In nearly every Kibbutz there are people who are especially interested in the past of the village where they live and spend a great deal of time on voluntary archaeological surveying. Nearly every Kibbutz has a collection of antiquities found near by. Many of the people interested in these activities made it their habit to submit their finds to me; I myself being a member of a Kibbutz (Mishmar Haemeq) as well. There was always a reply, and sometimes reports on the objects have been published in Israel or abroad. Some of these papers, which deal with the Egyptian impact on Canaan are republished here: nearly half the chapters of this book owe their origin to these contacts.

I should like to thank all the owners – public and private – of the objects discussed here for the permission to publish, and for all the help in providing information concerning circumstances of discovery or purchase, often with photographs.

Besides dealing with objects and groups of objects, the book deals in its first part with certain wider aspects of Egyptian activities and influences in Canaan: the paper on Canaanite names deals with a linguistic aspect of the relation between the two cultures and the discussion on the Egyptian temples in Canaan aims to show that this field promises more than we have actually discovered up till now. The short chapter on Ahiiram presents itself

as a critical remark. In fact it constitutes a sort of early program for an approach to Canaanite iconography. The two papers which follow grew out of prolonged preoccupation with ancient ivories. I am always conscious of the great help I received in this from my friends, Helen J. Kantor and Richard D. Barnett. The two chapters on Sinai, like all other Egyptological work I am doing in the region, were made possible by the sustained help I received in the «turquoise country» by the Beduins who live there, by the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University and by the Staff Officer of Archaeology in Sinai, my friend Abner Goren.

I am, of course, conscious of the fact that not all chapters carry equal weight: some are very short descriptions of objects which seemed to me of importance, some deal monographically with a single object, others with large groups. Some of the shorter essays have been brought here also for the reason that their original publication is hard to find at times; I hope they can serve also as examples of how relatively «simple» objects can help to show the significance and extent of the cultural contacts between Canaan and Egypt.

The Departement of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, together with the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Tel Aviv have helped me as always very generously at the different stages of my research; this included a grant which was essential at a certain stage of the work.

My assistant and student Miss Suzanne Lax helped me in transforming the papers dispersed in many publications into chapters of a book; she worked over all the bibliography, correcting and updating it whenever necessary.

More than to anybody else this volume owes its existence to Prof. Dr. Othmar Keel: his was the idea and the initiative and he was kind enough to encourage me at all stages. Thanks to him the volume is part of the series «Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis». I hope it will contribute a little to one of the aspects of iconographic research in which he is so deeply involved.

## INTRODUCTION

Contact between Egypt and Palestine started at a very early stage of human activity in both countries; typical Egyptian flint implements were brought to Palestine in prehistoric times. With the beginning of history, under the rule of the first Pharaohs, this import became more frequent and included Egyptian implements in stone, bone and pottery. At Tel Erani and at Arad settlements were excavated which were rich in Egyptian finds of the Old Kingdom: at both sites pottery sherds were discovered which had the name of Narmer incised on them – royal pottery was found not only there but in the Gaza region and even in a small Early Bronze settlement in the north, not far from Megiddo.

In the south several small settlements have been discovered which had a great deal of pottery and amongst this a good deal of «kitchenware», that is, not the pottery which could have served as objects d'art or for transport, but vessels for baking and eating. These typical and common Egyptian vessels point to a prolonged Egyptian presence in this region. Some hold that at this early period southern Palestine was part of a region in which Egyptians lived.

Whatever the exact character of these early relations may have been: commercial contacts, rule after conquest, colonial exploitation, it is clear that there were strong material interests which attracted Egyptians to the Land of Canaan. Palestine, because of its natural conditions, grows some produce which are almost unknown in Egypt, as oil and spice and certain woods. Others were cheaper to produce there, as cereals and cattle. It was for the Egyptians more profitable to import these (and slaves), especially in the periods when the Pharaoh, through his trade monopoly, was able to impose his own conditions on weaker countries. However, exploitation of foreign countries was a two way operation: even at the times when Egypt had the upper hand militarily and politically, it had to give something for the valuables it took out of Canaan. That something was, already at an early stage, trinkets of typical Egyptian manufacture. The early objects

were stone vases, pottery and faience objects, statuettes and seals. Form and decoration of these were taken from the rich world of Egyptian art, sacred and profane. Even though the Canaanites did not always understand the contents of the artistic creations thus imported – mostly of the minor arts – there was the tendency to use the motifs on these objects for the artistic needs of the people living in Canaan.

Canaan was, already at a very early period, a region of transit from the valley of the Nile to that other great river valley – Mesopotamia. In time of unrest and tension between the two regions, the roads which passed Canaan were essential for the movements of troops and for the supplies of the armies. Along these routes there were established garrisons and forts to control the transit and to keep a check not only on invading armies of the great powers in the north and north-east but also as a guard against robbers and beduins, and populations which tended in years of dearth to penetrate into the richer grazing-grounds of northern Egypt.

The Middle Kingdom contacts of Egypt with Canaan are extremely important from a political point of view and for the cultural development of Palestine. From this period we have statuettes of Kings and officials in Syria and Palestine (Chapter 3) and seals of various kings of the dynasty (Chapter 9). These have significance for the rule of Egypt over the country. The execration texts may have magical meaning only and are no direct evidence of overlordship of the Egyptians in the country. They tell us a great deal about the ethnical and geographical conditions in the country at the time. Egyptian activity in Sinai was strong at the period, especially in the temple of Serabit el-Khadim (see Chapter 7). Asiatics were helpmates of the Egyptians in turquoise mining. It seems to us that this is the time when the Protosinaitic inscriptions were written in South Sinai.

The possibility to write the Canaanite language in alphabetical writing was of utmost importance for the development of the culture of the Canaanites. Others think of the Late Canaanite Period – the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty – as the period in which this revolutionary method of communicating was introduced.

The times of the Hyksos – the XVth and XVIth Dynasty in Egypt – brought a far-reaching change into the relations of the two countries. It does not seem that there was ever a Hyksos invasion into Egypt – as a movement of a people or an army from Asia into Egypt; the more likely order of events seems to have been a slow increase in power of families of Asiatic origin which had slowly infiltrated generations before into northern Egypt, especially into the Delta. When the situation was ripe, these Asiatics seized power in the northern part of the country and from their centre in

Auvaris ruled over the northern part of Egypt and a great part of Canaan – especially the south. The rulers in Egypt being Asiatics, it is no surprise that the contact between the two countries, Egypt and Canaan, became more intense, and that the Hyksos in Egypt absorbed many Asiatic elements; we have therefore at this time a great homogeneity in the art of the two countries, especially in seal-cutting. It is questionable whether we can attribute a certain sort of pottery, of weaponry, of fortification to the Hyksos, but there is a definite type of Hyksos-scarab. They can be distinguished by three marks:

1. There appear human beings in the long and decorated dress typical for the Canaanites; the men are bearded. On other seals there appears the naked goddess, in frontal view, sometimes with cow-ears which show that this «Astarte» was related in some way to Hathor.

2. There appear animals drawn in a provincial manner: donkeys, lions, goats.

3. A last group has hieroglyphs or geometrical designs, such as spirals, concentric circles, rope-designs, or hieroglyphs combined with these. The hieroglyphs are of two kinds: we have a great many «nefer-signs», that is, signs, mostly tall and narrow, which have the symbolical meaning: life, beauty, protection, stability; the other kind is tall and narrow. The alphabetical hieroglyphs with the value *n r c* are also frequent, but they seem to serve a decorative purpose only – filling the central space of some scarab-surfaces.

These scarabs are found in Egypt and in Canaan as well. Their material is nearly always steatite, an Egyptian soft stone, and there is no doubt that they were mass-manufactured in Egypt; but their inspiration was Canaanite. As can be expected, they are found mainly in the south of Palestine, but not exclusively so; royal scarabs of the Hyksos, however, are found nearly exclusively in the south, as are administrative seals of the period.

Because there was an Egypt-centred Hyksos rule in Canaan, especially in the south, the end of the Hyksos period and the return of autochthon Egyptian dynasts to power did not mean a revolution in the character of the contacts with Canaan: the rulers of the New Kingdom who rose after the fall of the Hyksos continued to rule in Asia as did their predecessors, the Hyksos. There were no wars of conquest or reconquest in Canaan itself, and administration and trade continued as before; but with the greater northward expansion of the rulers of the XVIIIth Dynasty Egypt grew more prosperous. One result was the development of the plastic arts and this can also be seen in the increase of objets d'art which reached Palestine

now: metal, faience, pottery. Local produce imitate the Egyptian import. The most beautiful group of objects which belong here are the Megiddo ivories. This group was found in the palace of a local king. There are some purely Egyptian objects in his collection, such as the model pen case with a hieroglyphic inscription, which carries the name of Ramses III. Other items are very close imitations of Egyptian objects, like the plaque with the female sphinx holding an object, which is derived from a relief of a sphinx holding a royal cartouche. The most important group is in the mixed style where Egyptian elements mingle with Asiatic material.

An outstanding example is the famous triumphal scene, showing on the right the victorious prince of Megiddo returning from war and on the left the festive reception in the palace. We have here Egyptian elements like the lotus flower in the hand of the woman and the other flowers which serve as space dividers between the two scenes and are basically hieroglyphs. The winged sun-disk is another Egyptian element. Side by side with this there are Asiatic elements, the dress of the men and of the woman for instance. To this can be added an aegean motif: the drinking vessels (rhyta) in the shape of animal heads on the far left. There are many other examples of this mixture between cultures: the cylinder seal of Asiatic style with a short Egyptian inscription (Chapter 14) is an outstanding example of this type of object.

Ivory carvings of the type found in the Megiddo treasury are fairly rare in Egypt and common in Asia (for instance, in Ugarit). However, the carvings are heavily influenced by the art of the Egyptian jeweller. This is true for content and style. However the Egyptian content, mythological and religious, was adapted to the needs of the Canaanites. Canaan was lacking an autonomous artistic tradition, fit to express their religious experience. There arose thus the need to express Canaanite religion in the artistic language of Egypt, with only minor changes. These changes were caused partly by the religious conceptions of the Canaanites, partly by misinterpretation of the Egyptian model.

This adaptation of Egyptian art to the needs of another religion becomes predominant in the Israelite period. This is the period when the Phoenicians were active in commerce in the coastal cities of the north of Canaan. (Israel was trading with them already at the time of David and Solomon.) There is a great deal of evidence of Phoenician activity in architecture and art and trade. The most striking group of objects in this context are the Samaria ivories (Chapter 5). Ivories of about the same time were found in Syria and Phoenicia and the Phoenician origin of these objects is not in doubt (there are other groups of about the same time, which show more

markedly northerly, Syrian, influence as against the southern, Egyptian influence on the Samaria and similar ivories). The trade between Israel and Egypt ceased at this period to be a direct one: the Phoenicians were the owners of the great commercial fleets: their ships called on Egyptian harbours and from their great ports, such as Tyre and Sidon, the merchandise was carried into the inland and to the south, to Judah and Israel. The Egyptian style is strong here, but the carvings are of Phoenician manufacture; the Phoenician style in this technique and in the seal-cuttings can be defined as a provincial interpretation of Egyptian style and its adaptation to the spiritual world of the Phoenicians. The sarcophagus of Ahiram (Chapter 4) is a good example of this.

On the other hand, Assyrian motifs in art, mainly religious, penetrate into Israel; at some sites and tombs objects of Mesopotamian (Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian) origin are found together with Egyptian remains. In a tomb not far from Megiddo, for which there is no published report yet, there was found the usual funerary equipment of the Roman period together with a Neo-Babylonian seal and – a scarab of Ramesses II, brought there as a keepsake, it seems. Sometimes we have the motifs of the two countries, Assyria and Egypt, on one single object (see Chapter 19), or we have an Assyrian seal impression together with that of a royal scarab of Egypt on the same stopper, as in Ninive (see Chapter 20).

Egyptians came to Canaan as soldiers, administrators and merchants and had contacts with the local population: we know of Canaanites and Israelites who understood Egyptian, Accadian, and other Semitic languages were known in Egypt (as shown by the use of determinatives, see Chapter 1) together with fragments of dictionaries and wordlists found in Egypt). The worship of Asiatic gods – from Canaan and Mesopotamia – is well known: we need only mention Baal, Astarte, Anath, Kadesh and Resheph. The opposite process can also be observed: in Lachish there was discovered a little prism which had on one side the figure of Ptah with a protosinaitic inscription which seems to contain an epithet of the Egyptian god or one of his associates. In Ugarit there is a list of gods which contains *Nmry mlk 'lm* which contains the Hebrew *melekh hā'ōlām* «King of Eternity». It seems that Amenophis III (in the Akkadian form: Nimmuria, in Egyptian *nb m's't r'*) was here addressed as Lord of Eternity after his death, in his divine form of Osiris. These seem to be clear cases where religious concepts of the Egyptians penetrated into Canaan. This penetration can not have been deep – in spite of the fact that there were Egyptian temples in the country (Chapter 2). This can be seen by the nearly complete absence of any preaching by the prophets against Egyptian religion – as opposed to

their fervour against Canaanite, Babylonian and Assyrian idolatry. The frequency with which we meet Egyptian gods on Egyptian objects of export and on locally made Canaanite seals and similar objects, together with Semitic inscriptions, are no proof of penetration of Egyptian beliefs into the country; but they do show the adaptation of Egyptian iconography to the needs of local religion.

The influence of Egyptian art in Israel is not restricted to works of plastic art, ivory carvings, seals etc. Frequently the Biblical author takes his poetical imagery from works of arts from the Nile valley. There was no Israelite art to draw from and Canaanite art was too poor. The Hebrew poet had thus to take his material from the cultures of the great neighbouring countries to describe in picturesque terms religious events, such as theophany and sacrifice.

For an understanding of the Bible, however, we need more than an understanding of the artistic models on which the Hebrew poet based himself: not only Hebrew poetry but also Hebrew prose has close links with Egypt. The most important of these are the scenes the Biblical narrator puts into Egypt: Abraham's stay in Egypt, the descent of Joseph in Egypt and his career there, Moses and the Exodus. All these dramatic scenes have Egypt as their backdrop. Their authors are not archaeologists: they make no effort to describe Egypt as it was at the time of the Patriarchs or of Ramses II. They described the famous country as they imagined it to have been at the time of the events they describe; it is natural that they use for this purpose the narration of travellers who have been in Egypt at their time and even more so – Egyptian literature, as far as it was known in Israel; no wonder miracle stories and imaginary tales crept into their own narration.

There is a great deal to be learned from the Bible about ancient Egypt; but the Egypt the authors tell us about is the land of the Nile at their time. No doubt some of the stories about Israel in Egypt are based on very old national and religious traditions. Only it is very difficult to separate this very early layer from the archaistic tendencies of the story-tellers. It goes without saying that the same prosa-writers were often anachronistic in their approach to the realia of Egypt.

Egyptology has learned a great deal from Biblical traditions and Bible research can undoubtedly gain a great deal from a critical approach to the Aegyptiaca of the Biblical stories.



## DETERMINATIVES IN THE HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING OF CANAANITE NAMES

Many Canaanite words penetrated into Egyptian: the technical terms brought into Egypt were written either in a sequence of consonants alien to Egyptian, or in the syllabic orthography. There are, as in Pap. Anastasi I, whole phrases recording the speech of foreigners a little like the Punic material in Plautus; there are Canaanite words, of non-technical character, which for some reason or other remained loan-words in Egyptian; and there is a group, which we will treat here, of Personal Names and Toponymes.

### *Personal Names*

Canaanite names often have the throwstick as a general determinative. We are interested here in additional determinatives which are significant for the understanding of the content of the name itself. A large group of names has Baal. Baal became identified in the New Kingdom with Seth<sup>1</sup> and thus we have names composed with Baal which have the Seth animal as determinative: *'pr-b'l*<sup>2</sup>, *mhr-b'r*<sup>3</sup>, *tkr-b'l*<sup>4</sup> *sbl-bnr*<sup>5</sup> *t'b'l*<sup>6</sup>.

With *sbl* - *bnr* there are three determinatives: the man determining the whole, the Seth animal for the second part, *b'l*, and the legs walking backwards for *sbl* שָׁב, the first part. —

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<sup>1</sup> H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, 77. H. TE VELDE, *Seth, God of Confusion*, Leiden 1967, 120. R. STADELMANN, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, Leiden 1967, 34.

<sup>2</sup> H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I* (= PN), Glückstadt 1935, 60, 16. A. H. GARDINER, T. E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, Oxford 1952, Pl. 99, (423,3).


<sup>3</sup> RANKE, PN I 163, 12.


<sup>4</sup> RANKE, PN I 394, 23.

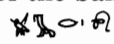
<sup>5</sup> S. R. K. GLANVILLE, *ZÄS* 66 (1933) 6: 4,3. The *n* is certainly a mistake for '.


<sup>6</sup> G. POSENER, *Une Liste de noms propres étrangers*, *Syria* 18 (1937), 191, 7.

The name *mtr-šm'* is understood as evidence of Mithra-worship. *šm'* is determined by the ear, appropriate to semitic שמע, to hear<sup>1</sup>.

A ship-builder of Thutmosis IV is called <sup>2</sup> The man brandishing the stick determined the Semitic root חמש, «to be armed, to be ready for battle».

At Byblos, an inscription from the time of the Middle Kingdom mentions a local prince  «The Calf», עגל determined by a calf<sup>3</sup>. This may be a short form of a name like עגלי of the Samaria ostraca<sup>4</sup>.

In Papyrus Wilbour a shepherd is called  «The runner» – רץ in Semitic<sup>5</sup>. This is determined twice: once by a leg, to indicate part of the body active in the movement, once by two walking legs, the usual determinative of movement.

The mother-in-law of Ramesses III is  *hmdrt* or *hdbrt*, Semitic חבצלת, «the meadow saffron»<sup>6</sup>. The determinative, a plant, would be very fitting for the name. However, we have to take into account that the plant may be here a form of writing *m3' hrw* «true of voice». Against this there is the fact that it would be curious that the formula meaning «the deceased» should be written within the cartouche. There is thus a strong possibility that the name too has the determinative of the type we are discussing here.

A personal name which occurs in Papyrus Lee, a record of the Harem conspiracy against Ramesses III, has to be considered next: a man is mentioned there whose name is given by Breasted as «Errem» (' - *ry-m*)<sup>7</sup>. In Ranke's list of personal names this is given in the transcription *irrm*, and he compares it as Breasted does, with El-ram, «(the god) El is exalted»<sup>8</sup>. The determinative of the man with both arms raised would be very fitting then. Helck suggests a reading 'á-ri-ra-m «The Lion is exalted»<sup>9</sup>. Such a name, however, is extremely unlikely to exist. The name of the man seems,

<sup>1</sup> RANKE, PN I, 167, 12.

<sup>2</sup> W. HELCK (ed.) *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. Abteilung IV, Urkunden der 18. Dyn.* Berlin 1956, 1630, 18.

<sup>3</sup> K. A. KITCHEN, *An Unusual Text from Byblos*, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 20 (1967), 153, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Discussion in M. NOTH, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, Stuttgart 1928, 150.

<sup>5</sup> Papyrus Wilbour A 18, 26; 27, 10; W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* 2. Aufl. Wiesbaden 1971, 359. RANKE, PN II 282, 11.

<sup>6</sup> J. ČERNÝ, *JEA* 44 (1958) 33, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> J. H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt IV*, Reprint New York 1962, 221, § 455.

<sup>8</sup> RANKE, PN I 43, 16.

<sup>9</sup> HELCK, *op. cit.* 354, 542.

however, to have been  $\text{𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤌}$  'Idrm<sup>1</sup>. This derives from Semitic  $\text{אדר}$ , wide, great, noble.

The toponym Adoraim, a city in Judah, can be compared; it occurs also in the List of Toponyms of Shishank (No. 19) and, with a final *n*, in Papyrus Anastasi I, 22, 5. The reading *d* instead of *r* changes the whole aspect of the name: instead of being a composite name with El it is simply the word 'adar with the ending *m*. Devéria, in his transcription of Papyrus Lee shows a man with one hand pointing, the other holding a stick over his shoulder. Papyrus Lee seems, therefore, to contain a Semitic personal name which is identical with a toponym, which is not rare in Egyptian documents and occurs in the Bible.

### *Personal Names with « False Etymologies »*

In Papyrus Wilbour we have the personal name  $\text{𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤌}$   $P^3$  - *ir*<sup>2</sup> with legs reversed; there is no obvious reason why the group  $\text{𐤀𐤓}$  which could correspond to a Semitic El  $\text{אֵל}$ , should be written with legs reversed. In the same Papyrus Wilbour we have one instance where this personal name has the addition 'n before the reversed legs.  $\text{𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤌}$  Ranke transcribed this name as 'ir - 'n<sup>3</sup> but that name would have no meaning either in Egyptian nor in Semitic. The group 'n is simply a spelling-out of the determinative as if it were a wordsign: 'n, 'nn «to turn back». In toponyms earlier than Papyrus Wilbour of the XXth Dynasty we have the group *ir* with the reversed legs without the group 'n: this shows that the addition of 'n was an afterthought but is not a solution to the riddle of the leg-sign to which we will return in discussing certain toponyms.

Reversed legs occur in a group of personal names composed of the name of the Hurrite god Teshub<sup>4</sup>. The name of the god is written  $\text{𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤌}$  or similarly, with the inverted legs showing the «false etymology» from Semitic  $\text{שׁוּב}$  to return. This was well known to the Egyptians. They used it wrongly to determine a name  $\text{𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤌}$  from a language of a people further away than their Canaanite neighbours.

$\text{𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤌}$  is determined by a man with a stick, the usual throwstick for Asiatics, and a sitting man. The name *ynhm* is Semitic «may (the god X)



<sup>1</sup> H. GOEDICKE, Was Magic Used in the Harem Conspiracy against Ramses III? JEA 49 (1963), 78; 88, Pl. 11, 1, 5.


<sup>2</sup> RANKE, PN II, 278, 4, 5.


<sup>3</sup> RANKE, PN II, 266.

<sup>4</sup> S. SAUNERON, BIFAO 51 (1952), 59.

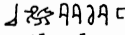
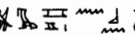
comfort.» The determinative does not explain the meaning of the Semitic verb but is regularly attached to the Egyptian group *nḥm* «to attack»; the group together with its usual determinative has entered the Egyptian form of the Canaanite name. It is therefore not correct to talk of «false etymology» in these cases.

The same Semitic root occurs also in the name of the «Follower of his Lord»  Nakhman<sup>1</sup>. The name occurs on a bronze dagger which has also the name of the Hyksos king Apopi. This time the name has the determinative of a flower. It is taken from the word  *nḥm.t* (the final *t* is often omitted). The word has the meaning «bud of the lotus flower». It is so far known from the time of the XIXth Dynasty onwards; it developed from an earlier *nḥb.t*.

The only old Kingdom example of this type of personal name with «wrong» determinative known to us is  : *ibš*<sup>2</sup> which reminds us of Biblical Abishua אבישוא. A name of this form occurs also in Safaitic. The group *š* is understood as Egyptian *š* «sand» and determined by a pellet.

The last example is the name of a god: in a Papyrus in Budapest there is mention of a god, known also from texts from Ugarit  *ktsr* – Kotar in Ugarit<sup>3</sup>. The name is written with the group *k.t* which has the meaning «vagina» and therefore the determinative «piece of flesh». The word as whole is determined by the falcon on the standard – the determinative for «god».

### Toponyms

In the toponym  «Beth Anath»<sup>4</sup> both parts are defined: the first part has the house determinative, the second the determinative of a goddess. A waterway near Thebes is named  «the channel of Bint Shemesh». The name of the «daughter of (the sun-god)

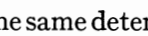
<sup>1</sup> P. HABIB, Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz, Glückstadt 1936, 28, Pl. 2–3. I discussed this personal name in a paper entitled: Nakhman – a Personal Name with the Plant Determinative in RdÉ 28 (1976) 155–156; further bibliography there.

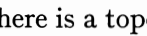
<sup>2</sup> P. KAPLONY, Beschriftete Kleinfunde in der Sammlung Georges Michailidis, Istanbul 1973, 22 (54), Pl. 13.

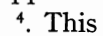
<sup>3</sup> L. KÁKOSY, Semitische Götternamen in einem unpublizierten magischen Text, Göttinger Miszellen 11 (1974), 29.

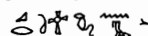
<sup>4</sup> J. SIMONS, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists, Leiden 1937, List XIX 5.

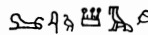
<sup>5</sup> W. C. HAYES, A Selection of Thutmoside Ostraca from Dēr el Bahri, JEA 46 (1960) Pl. 9 A 4, verso, line 2.

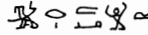
Shemesh or Shams» is paralleled by the name of a daughter of Ramses II, Bint Anat <sup>1</sup>. The word Shemesh or Shams, sun, or sun-god, is determined by the sun-disk. We have the same determinative in the toponym  *šmš'it(m)* <sup>2</sup>. The first part of this contains again the name of the sun-god. Some composite toponyms begin with Ayin «well, source». Nearly all of these are determined by the sign of the eye, which is the other meaning of the word ayin in Semitic; the eye is in most cases drawn inside a body of water.

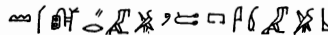
In Papyrus Anastasi I, 27, 5 <sup>3</sup> there is a toponym  *sbir*, with the reversed legs after the group *ir*, which we discussed above. It may well be that the legs in this case serve as determinative for the whole toponym: *sbir* or *šb-el* «god returns» that is: god will show his grace again. Shubel, Shubael occurs in the Bible and in ancient south Arabic personal names.

A case where the group *ir* appears with the legs marching forward occurs at Medinet Habu  <sup>4</sup>. This can easily be explained by the other meaning of the word 'l in Semitic: «toward.» The whole name at Medinet Habu is *rwiir* and the interpretation Levi-El has been suggested. A personal name Rua occurs also in Sinai and has also been interpreted as Levi. In Serabit el Khadim, the name on a statue now in the British Museum, is written differently and it belongs to the time of Sesostri III of the XIIth Dynasty <sup>5</sup>.

 *qrt nḏn* of the great list of toponyms composed by Thutmosis III (no. 11) has the determinative of a branch: the toponym is the equivalent of a Semitic Kiriath Nizan «City of Blossom». In Biblical Hebrew the verb belonging to this root refers to trees in blossom.

 *rš qdš* <sup>6</sup> Rosh-Kadesh has the determinative «head» after the first part of the name, Rosh, head.

 *mrm*, from the same list, Biblical Merom shows a man with both hands above his head, to illustrate «elevated ground».

 *bt-špr* <sup>8</sup> Beth Sepher «House of the Book»

<sup>1</sup> GLR III, 102.

<sup>2</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List V 22; see also his remarks on p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. GARDINER, Egyptian Hieratic Texts, Series I Part I, Leipzig 1911, 76, 15; 29\*.

<sup>4</sup> SIMONS, op. cit., List XXVII, 111.

<sup>5</sup> A. H. GARDINER, T. E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, The Inscriptions of Sinai II, Oxford 1955, 90 (No. 81).

<sup>6</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List XXIII, 1.


<sup>7</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List XIX, 12.

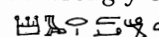
<sup>8</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 22, 4-5 (cf. Note 26).

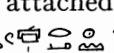
has the house-determinative after *bt* and the scribe's palette after *sepher* - book. The toponym is reminiscent of Biblical Kiriath Sepher.


 <sup>1</sup> (*mk*)*dr* is Migdal, Migdol, tower determinative: a wall.

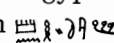
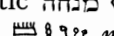
### *Toponyms with « False Etymologies »*

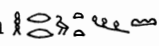
The toponym  <sup>2</sup> is written with a knife because the toponym was wrongly connected with the Semitic root *כָּחַל* *ḵḵl* to slaughter.

 <sup>3</sup> a toponym quoted in a list of the time of Ramses II has as the determinative a man in the gesture of prayer. The city is certainly Shalem; its name derives from the Canaanite god Shalem. The determinative is taken from a related but different word which occurs also in the Israel Stela, as a term of greeting used by the Canaanite princes «Shalom», «Peace».

Another type of «false etymologies» are those orthographies in which part of the Canaanite word is written like its Egyptian homonym employing the determinative usually attached to the Egyptian sign or group of signs. The Semitic toponym  <sup>4</sup> *qsr* ends with *r* which in Egypt has the meaning sun, sun-god. This is therefore the determinative given to the last part of the word here.

 <sup>5</sup>. A «Negeb-name» in the great Sheshonk -List has the «bad bird» as a determinative because of the Egyptian stem *ḏ* <sup>6</sup> «guilty».

This process can also be seen in the term  <sup>6</sup> a loanword from Semitic *מִנְחָה* «offering». The plant is taken from a similar but unrelated word  <sup>7</sup> *mnḥ*, papyrus <sup>7</sup>.

A curious example of false etymology is the toponym  <sup>8</sup> *hrrwt*. This is a country described as being the source of turquoise: it may well be a name for Sinai or the part of it in which turquoise is mined. At first look the name seems to be derived from *hrr* flower, which would hardly be fitting for the desert. However, in Semitic *חָרַר* *hrr* has the meaning «be

<sup>1</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List XXXIV, 58; for a different orthography see: List XXVII (Ramses III), No. 82, with the house-determinative.

<sup>2</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 19, 1. (cf. Note 26).

<sup>3</sup> SIMONS op. cit. List XIX, 15.

<sup>4</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List XXVII, 102.


<sup>5</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List XXXIV, 85.

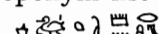
<sup>6</sup> A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, Berlin 1971, 84.


<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 83.

<sup>8</sup> A. H. GARDINER, T. E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, The Inscriptions of Sinai II, Oxford 1955, 3; Wb III, 149; F. BROWN, S. R. DRIVER, C. A. BRIGGS, A Hebrew and English Lexicon, Oxford, 1962, 359.

hot, scorched, burn». In Jeremiah 17, 6 the word (in plural) is used in a local sense. Albright thought of a connection between the meaning «blossom» הָרַר and the meanings «to be hot, bright, pure, free»<sup>1</sup>. It seems to us this is simply and only another case of the Egyptian group *hrrt* flower used, with its determinative, to express the Semitic group *hrr* «hot, desert land».

The origin of the toponym  = *nwn* is unknown<sup>2</sup>. The determinative, a door, can be explained by the group *wn* contained in the word, in Egyptian: to open.

In the great toponym list of Sheshonk we have this writing of the city of Beth Shean:  <sup>3</sup>. The first part of the toponym, Beth, does not have the house determinative like others mentioned above: after the bird *b3* with its incense bowl, and the stroke, there appears an egg. The bird is here employed, as always in group-writing as simple *b*. The egg derives from another meaning of the sequence *b3.t*, not in group-writing, with the meaning of a symbol of Hathor<sup>4</sup>. The egg determinative has often in Late Egyptian the meaning «goddess» and it seems that this meaning has been transferred here.

In the great Sheshonk list there appears as No. 38 the toponym:  <sup>5</sup> Socoh, in the northern Sharon plain. *k3*, the two arms, is used here in group-writing as simple *k*; however, it is determined by the phallus because *k3* has, amongst others, also the meaning: bull.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. ALBRIGHT, Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology II, AJSL 34 (1918), 234.

<sup>2</sup> SIMONS, op. cit. List I 75 (b, c).

<sup>3</sup> SIMONS op. cit. List XXXIV, 16.

<sup>4</sup> A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW (note 37) I 416, 12.

<sup>5</sup> SIMONS op. cit. List XXXIV, 38.

## EGYPTIAN TEMPLES IN CANAAN

The discovery, at Timna, of an Egyptian temple dedicated to Hathor<sup>1</sup> is of the greatest significance for the history of the relations between Canaan, Israel and Egypt at the time of the 18–20th Dynasties. Did there exist other Egyptian temples in Palestine?

### *Literary Evidence*

The Great Papyrus Harris has<sup>2</sup>:

«I built for thee a mysterious house<sup>3</sup> in the land of Djahi<sup>4</sup>, like the horizon of heaven which is in the sky, (named) 'the House of Ramesses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis – life, prosperity, health!' in the Canaan (= Gaza), as the vested property of thy name.

I fashioned thy great cult image which rests in it, (named) 'Amun of Ramesses-Ruler of Heliopolis – life, prosperity, health!' The foreigners of Retenu come to it, bearing their tribute before it, according as it is divine.»

In section 11, 11 of the same papyrus, we have amongst the benefits to Amon «towns of Kharu and Cush – 9», without indication how this

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<sup>1</sup> B. ROTHENBERG, Bulletin of Museum Haaretz, No. 12 (1970) 28–35; B. ROTHENBERG, Timna. Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines, London 1972, 125–207. For previous treatment of the subject: A. ALT, Ägyptische Tempel in Palästina. Kleine Schriften I, Muenchen 1953, 216–230; W. HELCK, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Wiesbaden 1971, 444–445.

<sup>2</sup> Section 9, 1. The translation used here is by J. WILSON in J. B. PRITCHARD, Ancient Near Eastern Texts. Princeton 1955, 260–261.

<sup>3</sup> The «mysterious house» is the mortuary temple of the Pharaoh. Ramesses IV applied the same appellation to his part of the temple at Serabit el-Khadim Inscription 276 in: A. GARDINER, T. E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, Inscriptions of Sinai I, London 1952 Pl. LXXI.

<sup>4</sup> A name for Canaan.



number should be divided between Kharu (Palestine) and Cush. In the summary section 68a, 1 we have «Cities in Kharu – 9.» This is simply an omission of the word «and Cush» and does not fix the number of cities in Kharu as 9. The gift of foreign possessions to Amun is attested also during the time of Thutmosis III (Urkunden IV, 744 3–8) when property of Jano'am, Nuhasse and *hwnkrw* are dedicated to «his father Amun». There is not the slightest evidence that there were any Egyptian temples in these cities. Papyrus Harris only states that these cities (or taxes levied from them) were given to the administration of the great temple of Amun at Karnak. MAZAR conceives these cities as being «no doubt fortified, frequently close together... In each of these cities there was a temple or a shrine with a staff of priests occupied with the religious cult as well as with secular administration. ... I am confident that with further research a link will be established between Egyptian practice in Canaan as late as the 12th Century B.C. and the national plan to build cities of Priests and Levites carried out by Solomon in the 10th Century»<sup>1</sup>. There is no evidence for this in Pap. Harris I.

An allusion from the same reign to an Egyptian temple in Canaan may be seen in the ivory plaques of Karkar (Kelkel) found in Megiddo. The owner of the plaque is described as a «singer of Ptah, South of His Wall, Great Prince of Ascalon»<sup>2</sup>. This can be interpreted as pointing to a cult of Ptah at Ascalon; in this case Ptah has, beside his usual epithet «South of His Wall», the unique one as «Great Prince of Ascalon.» On the other hand the inscription may mean that Karkar served first the temple of Ptah in Memphis (where his temple was known as «South of His Wall») and later transferred her services to a secular ruler, the great prince of Ascalon. One of the difficulties of the latter interpretation would be that the title for singer employed here, *sm'yt*, is known in Egyptian in connection with gods, but not with the household of rulers or princes<sup>3</sup>.

In the biography of *Min-msw* (time of Thutmosis III) there is a list of temples which benefited from the work of his official<sup>4</sup>. They seem to be arranged in a south-northerly direction. After the mention of the temple of Hathor, Lady of Byblos, there is mentioned a temple of Amun; the

<sup>1</sup> B. MAZAR, Cities of Priests and Levites, Vetus Testamentum Suppl. VII, Leiden 1960, 205.

<sup>2</sup> G. LOUD, Megiddo Ivories, Chicago 1939, 12; Pl. 63.

<sup>3</sup> A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache IV, Berlin 1957, 479.

<sup>4</sup> W. HELCK (ed.) Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. Abteilung IV, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Heft 18, Berlin 1956, 1443, 19.

indication of the site is destroyed, but it may be well north of Byblos, a region where *Min-msw* was active as we know from his other monuments.

Seals of priests found in Israel may be evidence of Egyptian cult; seven of these are known to me:

God's father:

1. *Mn-htp*<sup>1</sup>, «in the temple of Ptah at Thebes».
2. *H3- 'nh. f*<sup>2</sup>
3. *H3- 'nh. f*<sup>3</sup>  
(Priest) «who enters (the temple of) Nekhbet»:
4. (*'Iw*).*f-n. i*<sup>4</sup>

The great seer:

5. *W3d (?)*<sup>5</sup>
6. *R'*<sup>6</sup>

Overseer of Temple:

7. *Df3. i- h' pi- hmm*<sup>7</sup>

### *Archaeological Evidence*

The temples in Beth Shean strata VII and VI (Fig. 1) have been taken for Egyptian constructions. The reason for this was that there existed in Tell el Amarna some chapels which resemble these Beth Shean constructions (Fig. 2). The excavators claim a date in the 14th Century for the temple. A seal of Akhenaten is mentioned in this connection; no traces of details (findspot, excavation no., photograph or drawing) could be discovered in the printed excavation report. Seals of Hatshepsut and Amenophis III were found and duly reported. Others assign it to the 13th century<sup>8</sup>. In any

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<sup>1</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza* III, London, 1933. Pl. IV, 155.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.* Pl. III, 16.

<sup>3</sup> The M. DAYAN collection. Unpublished. From an unknown site in Palestine. This priest may be identical with the foregoing.

<sup>4</sup> O. TUFNELL, *Lachish* IV, London 1958, Pl. 30, 37.

<sup>5</sup> The Levkowicz Collection. Unpublished. This will figure in a corpus of seals from ancient Accho which I am preparing.

<sup>6</sup> E. J. H. MACKAY, M. A. MURRAY, *Ancient Gaza* V, London 1962, Pl. IX, 2.

<sup>7</sup> O. TUFNELL, *op. cit.* (see note 12) Pl. 37, 251.

<sup>8</sup> For the problems of dating and for bibliography see most recently: A. KEMPINSKI in: B. MAZAR, (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* I, Jerusalem 1970, 63-76 (Hebrew).

case it was followed in stratum VI, which is without doubt post-Amarna, by another temple – without any significant change. It would be most astonishing, if a temple plan typical for Amarna and transferred to Beth Shean during the reign of Akhenaten or his followers, would not have been given up for another temple-type, either Canaanite or Egyptian, of the ordinary kind.

The site of Tell Amarna was left after the famous 'revolution' and its architecture was not continued. Even in Amarna the sun-cult demanded a special form of temple – which does not resemble the Beth Shean temple. Only some small chapels at Tell el Amarna were built in that style. Perhaps the position should be inverted: in this view the Amarna-chapels are an imitation of Canaanite prototypes.

In the Amarna period with its cosmopolitan tendencies such a transfer of a strange temple-type would not be unique. We know from the time of Ramesses III of the construction of a typical Canaanite building, a Migdol, in the temple at Medinet Habu. – A great deal of Egyptian material was found in the temple at Beth Shean. Nothing of it could be defined with certainty as «Amarna art». The presents brought to the Timna and Serabit el-Khadim temples: faience vessels, armlets, sistras etc., with dedicatory inscriptions of kings and votive statuettes of private people are entirely missing in Beth Shean.

### *Conclusions*

This leaves us with the literary evidence of Egyptian temples in Gaza and Ascalon, with seven seals of Egyptian priests. There are thus far no remains of an Egyptian temple in Israel, except Timna. However, it may be difficult to find parallels for the plan of this temple inside Egypt<sup>1</sup>. The reason for this may be that the builders adapted the plan to natural conditions or influences of native traditions. Other Egyptian temples in Canaan, if ever they will be found, may be quite different in architecture from Timna, but we may expect similarities in contents. Many objects found in Serabit el-Khadim are also found in Timna. The temple of Serabit el-Khadim, which we have not considered here as being outside Canaan proper, is also atypical as far as its plan is concerned because of the shape of the particular hill on which it stands and because it developed from a

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<sup>1</sup> In spite of some similarities in the plan of the temple in Wady Mia, the divergent elements prevail. See: S. SCHOTT, Kanais. Der Temple Sethos I im Wady Mia, Göttingen 1961, Pl. 18.

rock-cut private tomb. – The temples of Timna and Serabit el-Khadim have more in common that the worship of Hathor: they were mining temples, increase of production were their main *raison d'être* and not the service of a settled community. It may be that they had different significance for the Asiatics who frequented them. There is ample evidence for their activities in Timna and in Serabit el-Khadim. Remains of Canaanite cultic activities will have to be expected in any Egyptian temples which may be discovered in the future in this country. Papyrus Harris I speaks of the people of Retenu who came to worship the colossal statue of Amun in his temple. If few traces of Egyptian religion in Canaanite and Israelite popular cult practices have been discovered thus far, this may be connected with the absence – so far – of Egyptian temples in the centres of Canaanite and Israelite civilisation.

### *Additional Note*

During the Season Summer 1977 there was found at Aphek-Antipatris an Egyptian object which belongs without doubt to a temple<sup>1</sup>. This is a faience foundation tablet, inscribed on both sides: One side has the pre-nomen of a king who is most probably Ramesses II (the inscription is partly illegible there) This is preceded by the usual «Good god» and followed by «Given life». There follows: Beloved by «Great in Magic, Lady of the Sky... The other side has the name of the king, preceded by «Son of Re» and followed by «Like Re» which is a continuation of what followed the cartouche on the other side, so that the whole reads: «Given life like Re.» The name and the epithets of the king is followed by: Beloved by Isis, the Great, mother of the god, the one of On (= Dendera)... The expression «Great-in-Magic» is virtually equivalent to a name of Isis. There are other epithets of Isis on both sites in parties of the tablet which are difficult to read.

Foundationtablets which name the king as beloved by a certain god or goddess were always found in Egypt in temples of these gods: Thebes, Abydos and even the temple of Hauron, a god of Canaanite origin who had his temple at Giza, near the sphinx. Could the tablet from Aphek have come from a temple of Isis, built by Ramesses II ?. One such temple founded by Ramesses II is known to us from Papyrus Wilbour<sup>2</sup>. Its site

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Dr. M. Kochavi for permission to discuss the object here; it will be dealt with in a paper in «Tel Aviv» before publication of the excavation report.

<sup>2</sup> J. Yoyotte, *Revue d'Égyptologie*. 15 (1963) p. 117.

must have been near Memphis. Isis had, before the Ptolemaic period very few temples of her own in Egypt.

Is it possible that the tablet came from a temple of Isis built at Aphek? This can not entirely be ruled out because a foundation tablet and from such a little known temple is not an object which is likely to be exported into other countries: The object itself was not found where it may have served as an foundation gift.

In any case the find of this tablet at Aphek must be added to the evidence of Egyptian temple material in Canaan even if we can not be sure of its interpretation until new evidence turns up in Aphek.

## AN EGYPTIAN STATUETTE FROM THE REGION OF AYN HASHOFET

In 1942, while digging the foundations for a building at the summit of Give'at Noah (Ji'ara); map. ref. 1606.2228) west of Ayn Hashofet, at a depth of about 1 m, the upper part of a statuette of a man was found (Fig. 3) <sup>1</sup>. This black stone statuette was broken below the waist already in ancient times. The head is damaged in several places, mainly on the right side of the forehead and the left side of the chin. The statuette is 13 cm. high, 8.5 cm. wide and 6 cm. deep. A column supports it on the back, its upper end reaching as high as the shoulders. At this spot the column is 1.5 cm. wide; in the lowest place, close to the break, it is 2.5 cm wide. No remains of an inscription were found on the column or on any other part of the statuette. It is not known if the object was found in conjunction with an ancient building, a find of potsherds or other remains.

The statuette shows a man wearing a kerchief which comes down to a point on his chest. The chest is well carved. At the back the kerchief reaches only as far as the nape of the neck. The kerchief has lines carved in it which meet in the centre of the forehead. The ears are uncovered, as are the chest and arms; the forehead is high, the face round. The eyebrows are indicated as a protruding ledge above the eyes; the pupil is shown as a globular projection. The arms are kept close to the body.

Numerous statuettes of this type were found in Egypt; they are common in the temple of Osiris in Abydos. Vandier <sup>2</sup> is of the opinion that this type of statuette has its origin in the workshops of Abydos. He dates the beginning of this type of small stone statuettes from the time of Sesostris II (1897–1877 B.C.E.). To the extent that these statuettes carry inscrip-

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<sup>1</sup> The object is kept in the local museum of Ayn Hashofet. I wish to thank Mr. Shlomo Kurz, who kindly supplied details regarding the circumstances of the discovery.

<sup>2</sup> J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, Paris 1958, 255–271.

tions, they are the common formulae of steles and statues to the dead: «A gift which the king presents...»<sup>1</sup>.

From its present state it cannot be determined if the statuette represents a man standing, sitting or kneeling. For purposes of comparison with other works of art, the most distinctive feature of our statuette is the shape of the kerchief; also the indication of the eye is unusual. There are several small statuettes resembling ours in the Cairo Museum<sup>2</sup>, the Brooklyn Museum<sup>3</sup> and one in Baltimore<sup>4</sup>.

In stratum VII B at Megiddo, some seven kms from Give'at Noah a group of fragments from small statues also made of black stone was found in a wall which formed the foundation of a shrine. One of these fragments is the lower part of a statuette bearing an Egyptian inscription which mentions the name Thuthotep, known from other documents as a district governor at the time of Sesostri III (1878–1843 B.C.E.)<sup>5</sup>. The fragments were, no doubt, brought to light by the builders of the shrine while digging the foundations in the Late Bronze Age (stratum VII B). Under the temple foundations building rubble from different phases of the Middle Bronze Age were found, among them two phases corresponding to the Middle Kingdom in Egypt. The style of the statue cannot be compared with that from Ayn Hashofet since its upper part is missing. However, together with it another statue fragment<sup>6</sup> was found, also of a man's head, showing a remarkable resemblance to our statuette, as regards the round face and the form of the eyes. The kerchief too is similar except that with the Megiddo statuette the ends reach only a little below the shoulders. A statue of this type was also found in Gezer<sup>7</sup>; it too dates from the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt, and bears the name *Hqꜣ-ib* and the title of an official.

The statuette from Ayn Hashofet seemingly has to be ascribed to the reign of Sesostri III. Not only the Execration Texts, but also the Khu-

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<sup>1</sup> L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten II* (Catalogue général du Musée du Caire), Berlin 1925, 66 (No. 406) 77 (No. 462), 79 (No. 476).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note 3.

<sup>3</sup> C. ALDRED, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, London 1950, P. 66.

<sup>4</sup> G. STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, 24, Pl. 6.

<sup>5</sup> G. LOUD *et alii*, *Megiddo II*, Chicago 1948, Pl. 265. For the significance of the inscription see also: J. A. Wilson, *The Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Megiddo*, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941), 225.

<sup>6</sup> G. LOUD *et alii*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 266.

<sup>7</sup> R. A. S. MACALISTER, *The Excavations of Gezer II*, London 1912, 311.

sebek inscription from the time of Sesostris III which deals with an expedition to Shechem <sup>1</sup>, serve as evidence for Egypt's increasing interest in the Land of Canaan during this period. The statues of officials prove the existence of an Egyptian administration in Canaan. An important official ruled in Megiddo, while lower ranking officials resided in the smaller towns. Both, the former and the latter, prepared their statues while still in Egypt, taking them along with them to their post abroad. It was apparently such an official who resided in the early settlement of Give'at Noah. In order to clarify if a settlement did, in fact, exist in this tell during the Middle Kingdom, a systematic survey and excavation of it are strongly recommended. Two objects, though from another phase of the Middle Bronze Age were discovered at a distance of a few dozen meters from the place where the statuette was found.

It must be remembered that the description of the famous campaign of Thutmose III in Israel mentions the road «north of Zafti which lies to the north of Megiddo». This, undoubtedly, refers to the road ascending from Jechem in the northern Sharon to the High Plateau of Menasseh (Belad el Rucha). The main road which descends from this plateau to the Valley of Jezreel is by way of Wady Jokneam (Wady Milk) at whose extremity lies Tell Qeimun, ancient Jokneam. Another road descends to a valley near Give'at Noah by way of Nachal Mishmar (Wady Abu Shusha), at the lower end of which, near the valley, is Tell Abu Shusha, which was settled at the time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt. The settlement of Give'at Noah commanded a good view over this second road. A network of settlements from the time of the Middle Kingdom stretched along one of the roads from the northern Plain of Sharon to the Valley of Jezreel; here there was probably one of the northern road junctions of the same «Via maris» already before the time of Thutmose III <sup>2</sup>.

The importance of the small settlement in Give'at Noah was due to the fact that it overlooked the eastern part of this road. And the statuette found at this place constitutes additional evidence that during the Twelfth Dynasty the Egyptians effectively governed this area.

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<sup>1</sup> T. E. PEET, *The Stele of Sebek-khu*; Manchester 1914.

<sup>2</sup> For the historical geography of the area and its ancient roads, see: Y. AHARONI, *Zephath of Thutmose*, IEJ 9 (1959), 110-122.



## KING OR GOD ON THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AHIRAM\*

In spite of the strong influence of Egyptian culture on the Canaanites in general and Byblos in particular, the fundamental religious concepts of the Egyptians were not copied or even adopted by the peoples of Western Asia: it is only the iconography of the Egyptians which was used as a means of expressing the religious beliefs of the Canaanites. In this process of transfer Egyptian pictorial concepts were changed in varying degrees, the changes being due sometimes to a lack of understanding of their real meaning and sometimes to the need to use similar pictographs to express different ideas.

An example of this is the lotus flower. This decorative motif probably entered Canaanite art through tomb decoration. The Egyptian custom of decorating the roof of the tomb-chambers with garlands of lotus flowers developed into the painting of these flowers on the tomb-roof with the petals *downwards*, as is natural for flowers used in garlands. Above the main scenes on the Ahiram sarcophagus we see just such a flower-and-bud chain, perhaps the earliest instance of this motif outside Egypt (Fig. 4) <sup>1</sup>.

Is the object held in the left hand of the king on the sarcophagus a lotus flower or, as Haran suggests, a 'staff... in the form of a leather thong proliferating out at the end into three flaps' (p. 17)? Close scrutiny of good photographs will confirm once more the fact that this is, after all, a lotus flower with hanging petals. The woman, too, on the sepulchral relief from Sinjirli <sup>2</sup> which Haran quotes, is holding a wilting flower in her hand.

Dussaud has suggested the solution of the problem of lotus flowers with hanging petals:

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\* See M. HARAN, The Bas-Reliefs on the Sarcophagus of Ahiram King of Byblos, IEJ 8 (1958) 15-25.

<sup>1</sup> This motif became more common later in the Phoenician art of the first millennium, for instance in the Samaria ivories; cf. J. W. CROWFOOT & GRACE CROWFOOT: Early Ivories from Samaria, London 1938 Pl. XVI:1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent reproduction is now available in M. VIEYRA, Hittite Art, London 1955 Pl. 83.

'La fleur est dressée si le personnage est vivant, inclinée si le personnage est décédé. Le sarcophage d'Ahiram, dont le décor répond si exactement aux ivoires de l'époque de Ramsès II, confirme ce détail de la symbolique phénicienne' <sup>1</sup>.

This is not a question of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, or Hittite influences: the Ahiram sarcophagus shows definite Egyptian features, resembling in this the beautiful ivory plaque from Megiddo <sup>2</sup>. However, even in this plaque the non-Egyptian elements are numerous: the dress of the woman and her headgear, the rhyta in the round part of the plaque; even the winged disk appears in a non-Egyptian form. Similarly, the box lid from Tell el-Far'ah <sup>3</sup>, though still closer to Egyptian prototypes, shows un-Egyptian elements: the 'Phoenician' palm-tree and the 'Aegean' bull.

It seems therefore safe to draw the conclusion that all these objects are specimens of Canaanite art and show the lotus, erect or drooping, according to Canaanite iconographic tradition. The lotus as an element was taken originally from Egyptian art, but changed its significance, together with many other Egyptian religious symbols adopted in West-Asiatic art.

In considering the literary material which Haran adduces to prove his thesis that the object in the hand of the king is a staff, it should be taken into account that the Ahiram inscription on the sarcophagus is not contemporary with the relief. The sarcophagus was found in a tomb which also contained vase fragments with the name of Ramesses II. After its initial thirteenth century B. C. use the tomb was used again: the late pottery in the tomb and the inscription are generally held to be of the tenth century B. C. Paleographically the writing shows affinity to the Mesha inscription. Thus the inscription on the sarcophagus cannot be brought to confirm anything shown in the relief <sup>4</sup>.

Haran contends the view that the main scene of the sarcophagus 'contains unmistakable cultic features. Such is the table on which the gift offerings are laid out' (p. 23). *Are* there any cultic realia in this scene? The table represented here recurs in another Megiddo ivory <sup>6</sup> and on the Tell el-Far'ah box lid. In these works of Canaanite art, which are of the thirteenth

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<sup>1</sup> R. DUSSAUD, *L'Art phénicien du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire*, Paris 1949, 90.

<sup>2</sup> G. LOUD, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Chicago 1939 Pl. 4.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Beth-Pelet (Tell Fara) I*, London 1930 Pl. LV.

<sup>4</sup> As regards the discrepancy between the relief and the inscription, see S. SMITH, *Alalakh and Chronology*, London 1940, 46, n. 117; H. FRANKFORT, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, London 1954, 253, n. 111; J. B. PRITCHARD, edit., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd ed. Princeton 1969, 504. The contrary view is held by W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Was the Age of Solomon without Monumental Art?*, *EI* 5 (1958) 5\*.

<sup>6</sup> G. LOUD, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4), Pl. 32: 160.

century B. C. at the latest, there is no question of cultic intention. An Assyrian example, the famous Assurbanipal relief from Kuyunjik, may be quoted, but admittedly the table is somewhat different in style. On a funerary stele from Sinjirli a table occurs in the Assyrian style and, incidentally, it appears again in the newly published Nimrud ivories <sup>1</sup>.

Can it be, as Haran suggests, that the god Moth is represented here? No depiction of Moth on a sarcophagus has hitherto been known. Is it really true that 'any representation of the living king Ahiiram would be out of place here' (i.e. on a sarcophagus) (ibid.)? We know that Byblos was strongly influenced by Egyptian conceptions. In Egyptain funeral art there are hundreds of representations of the dead man surveying his earthly possessions or receiving the funeral meal (consisting of all the essentials of an ordinary meal, which included bread and meat and wine, just like a sacrificial meal). This did not mean in all cases that the dead had undergone a transformation into a god adored by the living. The fact that the offering to a ruler, living or dead, were similar to the offerings to a god, and the gestures of supplianee to a king like those made to a god, should not lead us to identify the seated person with a god.

We have here, then, a funeral scene usual in Egyptian art and belonging to an Egyptian conception of life in the hereafter, but adapted to Canaanite needs and ideas. The fact that the king is dead is indicated by the wilting flower, a Canaanite pictorial convention. The throne, the table, the man with the fly whisk, and the rest are common in West-Asiatic art, funeral and other, when rulers are represented.

It may well be that from representations like these there developed a religious idiom reflected in biblical and Ugaritic literature. There are indications that at a certain moment of religious development, titles and terms of adulation previously used in connection with royalty were used in reference to the gods. There is, however, no evidence that the Canaanites regarded their dead king as a god. In analysing the Ahiiram relief the question is not, as Haran holds, whether it represents Ahiiram the king or Ahiiram the 'god', but whether we should see in the seated figure an anonymous thirteenth century ruler or a god. The facts adduced here tend to put the bas-relief within the frame-work of West-Asiatic sepulchral representations, showing the dead in the hereafter. Works of art like these contributed to the rise of the poetic imagery used in Canaanite literature to describe the gods, but literature cannot, conversely, be adduced in support of the alleged divine nature of the figure represented.

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<sup>1</sup> R. D. BARNETT, *The Nimrud Ivories*, London 1975 Pl. XVI (S 3).

## THE SAMARIA IVORIES

### *Historical Background*

The background for the ivories dating from the Israelite period must be looked for in the relations which prevailed between Israel and the countries to the north of it – both the direct ones with its neighbours Phoenicia and Aram, and the indirect ones with Assyria. At a later date direct contact was also established with Assyria and with Babylon. However, the relations with Assyria and Aram and Phoenicia played a vital part in its culture and in its actual fate<sup>1</sup>, it was Phoenicia which exerted the strongest and most varied influence on Israel.

Already in King David's time trade relations were established with Hiram, King of Tyre. The Phoenicians were highly developed technically and so made their most important contribution by sending craftsmen to Israel, including excellent builders. The sea-trade enabled them to supply Israel with merchandise, and their proximity to Lebanon led them to export valuable timber. The availability of this wood probably gave the impetus to the artistic expression characteristic for them, namely to engage in wood-carving for use in building and in furniture-making from which they graduated to ivory carving.

Israel paid the Phoenicians with agricultural produce and with special trade privileges, granting them free and joint shipping rights from Ezion-geber (Elath). Hiram, who supplied David with cedars from the Lebanon to build his new capital in Jerusalem, also helped Solomon to construct magnificent buildings and the Temple in Jerusalem. We have no direct evidence for all this, but the Biblical description fits in very well with the Phoenician style of building and with its art. Phoenician art collections contain parallels to almost all the equipment of the Temple in Jerusalem.

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<sup>1</sup> For Details and Bibliography on the whole subject, see the pertinent chapters in: H. FRANKFORT, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth 1954; R. D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories I*, London <sup>2</sup> 1975.

With the conquest of Edom the way to the Red Sea and trade by sea route with many countries were open to Solomon. Together with the experienced seafaring Phoenicians he undertook expeditions to Ophir, every one of which lasted three years. There are many views as to the location of Ophir: India, Punt (known from Egyptian history), the Arabian Peninsula, etc. The discovery of a short inscription at Tell Qasile (near Tel-Aviv) mentioning Ophir proves that the reference is not to some imaginary country.

The merchandise brought back by the expeditions included ivories. This import undoubtedly grew in importance as the elephant herds in north Syria declined in number and were completely wiped out by the eighth century B.C.E. The King required the raw material not only for the «great throne of ivory» (I Kings 10 18), but also for many additional purposes; since at that time the Kings of Israel had adopted the life style of great Eastern potentates.

Phoenician influence reached its climax in Ahab's days. The strengthening of these connections was also designed to fortify Ahab's position vis-à-vis Aram which, having greatly increased in strength during this period, had undertaken several expeditions in the north of Israel. Ahab's marriage to Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon, reinforced these connections. It was in Jezebel's time that the most far-reaching penetration of Phoenician elements into Israelite art, religion, form of government and general life style took place.

Jehu's rebellion against Omri and against Phoenician influence – mostly clearly embodied in the person of Jezebel – resulted in a sharp revision of Israel's foreign policy and in a break with Phoenicia.

There were a number of rich and independent states in Syria at this time, such as Gozan whose capital was discovered in the Tell Halaf excavations; Bit Adini, with its capital Til Barsip; Beth Agusi, with Arpad as its capital, Carcemish and Hamath. Hittite influence was considerable in these states. Their art consisted of a mixture of Hittite and Semitic elements.

Repeated incursions by the Assyrians into Syrian territory put an end to this cultural prosperity. To begin with, these expeditions were for booty, since the foremost interest of the Assyrian kings was the rich spoils which could be taken back to their country. The long lists of booty frequently mention ivory objects, mainly as decoration for furniture. The inscriptions of Assurnasirpal in Calah (Nimrud) – his new capital, which was built on the ruins of an earlier city – serve as an example of this. The Phoenician cities preferred to pay tribute to Assyria, which made it possible for them to enjoy a certain degree of freedom for a considerable length of time.

Shalmaneser III (858–824) turned Bit Adini and Gozan into an Assyrian province, thus initiating a new policy on the part of Assyria towards Syria: instead of booty, the annexation of conquered territories into the Assyrian political framework. One aspect of this policy was the population transfer of conquered lands, so very characteristic for Assyria.

This phenomenon had an important bearing on the art of ivory work since it lets one assume that at this stage, not only (or not mainly) works of art were taken to the royal palaces in Assyria, but also experienced craftsmen who continued the artistic tradition of their homeland, though here and there they also introduced some native artistic elements of their new masters.

The war of Adad-nirari (810–783) against Damascus led to the strengthening of Israel, which reached its highest level of prosperity in the days of Jeroboam II (787–747) – but also to an upsurge in the power and culture of Hamath.

This intermission came to an end with the accession of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727). His wars against Israel caused a serious reduction in territory – all that remained of the state was its capital Samaria and the hill-country surrounding it (733).

Upon the death of Tiglath-pileser III, Hoshea, King of Samaria, tried to obtain independence for his state. After a siege lasting three years Sargon II (721–705) conquered the city and made it into the capital of the Assyrian province «Samaria», along with other Assyrian provinces that had been existing in Israel for some time past, such as: Megiddo, Dor and Gilead. Trade relations, the many wars, the pillage and the tribute which the conquerer imposed upon the conquered all played their part in the dispersion of many works of art, including ivory, far from the places where they had been made. Contact between the Aramean states, the Phoenicians and the Israelites, led to the creation of a unique art, which at this period was mainly a mixed art. In this way, many different styles came into existence within a fairly limited region, the differences being due to the area from which they received the alien influence: the work of the Phoenicians was Egyptian-inspired, as were the Samaria ivories; North Syria showed more independence, its products reflected the influence of the art known as neo-Hittite.

### *The Finds*

We possess no information as regards the development of the art of ivory – work, which took place between the twelfth and ninth centuries; similarly, the continued development of this art form during the Late Period itself

– between the ninth and seventh centuries – is as yet unknown. The tremendous movement of peoples, of which the invasion by the Sea Peoples was only one factor, naturally resulted in the decline of the art centres which used to produce ivory carvings (mainly Phoenicia), and the fruitful connection between Phoenicia (and Israel) and the Aegean world was severed. We do not know the stages in this cultural decline; it is not surprising, though, that during this unstable period no large ivory collections found their way to the palaces of the rulers.

Of the ivory groups dating from the Iron Age, some were found in the locality where they had been made (Hamath, Tell Halaf), a small part was found in places they had reached via trade or by an exchange of «gifts» (Samaria). The great majority reached the places, where they were discovered, as part of the spoils of war, the loot of Assyrian kings or as tribute collected from the rulers of Aram.

The ivories from the Middle Iron Age can be divided into three «schools» which existed at one and the same time. The first one – from which comparatively few ivories were found – is the Hittite group. This group has many indications pointing to the influence of the traditional art of the New Hittite Empire. These Hittite objects generally appear in isolation, except for one large and interesting group which is at present housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. There is no clear information concerning the origin of this acquisition apart from the general remark «North Syria». The date given for this group is the ninth century.

The second group consists of the «Syrian School» which is a continuation of the Canaanite school mixed with Mycenaean elements. We have come to recognize the muscles in the form of «flames» on the hind legs of creatures as a Mycenaean trait. This tradition appears again on ivories from the Late Period, as an exclusive feature of ivory carvings from the Syrian School. They are clearly visible in the Loftus Collection, which forms part of the Nimrud Ivories. The Syrian School is strongly influenced by Hurrian elements which brings it close to Assyrian art. Syrian ivory carvings are noted for the near absence of Egyptian influence.

The third group, the «Phoenician School», is very close to the Egyptian tradition, even closer than the twelfth century Phoenician ivory carvings. Yet, both Egyptian and Phoenician art is modelled on an earlier period to such an extent that, at this stage, this archaic trend deprives the Phoenician art of much of its vitality. The use made of Egyptian forms was not an imitation, in spite of the considerable proximity to Egyptian religious motifs; the Phoenicians took over what suited them from Egyptian religious art in order to express their own religious conceptions. This explains

why, in spite of the Egyptian style and imagery, their work contains so much of religious conceptions which correspond with those of the peoples of the Euphrates and Tigris, including also Hurrian influences. Barnett has stressed the fact that the «Phoenician creations were covered with a thin layer of Nile mud, but the soil underneath remained essentially Semitic»<sup>1</sup>, so that along with incidental imitations, the use of the Egyptian model must be attributed to the religious needs of the Phoenicians. The Egyptians themselves, in ancient times, adapted gods from the Canaanite pantheon to their own religion, so that we should view this process and that in Phoenician art in the light of reciprocity: against the «import» of art to Phoenicia, there was the «export» of gods to Egypt.

As mentioned, we lack sufficient material to give an outline of the history of art from the ninth to the seventh centuries. The earliest collections were found at Tell Halaf (in a ninth century tomb) and at Nimrud. The Nimrud ivories are grouped according to styles and to the places where they were found. The earliest group seems to be the one from the palace of Shalmaneser III (858–824). The other two groups (Layard and Loftus) came to Nimrud in the days of Sargon II (721–705). The north-western palace, where the Layard group ivories were found, existed between 877 and 705. On one of the plaques of this group appears a name (in Egyptian hieroglyphs) apparently that of Ia'u-bi'-di, King of Hamath, who was defeated by Sargon in a battle near Qarqar in 720. The second group (Loftus) was found in the south-western palace at Nimrud. The archeologists who excavated at this site date the palace 824–705. This accumulation of ivories was brought to Nimrud by Sargon II. In the view of R. D. Barnett, who examined these ivories, both groups were taken away from Hamath during the conquest of the city. The «Syrian» Loftus group seems to have originated in Hamath, while the «Phoenician» Layard group was not native to that city. The fact that a plaque containing the name of a king of Hamath was found in this group may indicate that the king ordered ivory carvings for his palace from Phoenicia, or that he brought ambulant artists to his city to make ivory objects for him and these carried out the work according to the artistic tradition nearest to their heart – that of Phoenicia.

In one of the rooms of the south-western palace in Nimrud large blocks of a blue material used for inlay work were found. The chemical composition of the glaze is identical with the ivory inlay from that same palace, which shows that the kings of Assyria brought Phoenicia craftsmen to

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<sup>1</sup> R. D. BARNETT, *The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians*, Iraq 2 (1935) 201.



their city to produce ivory objects or to repair those which they had previously taken away from Phoenicia.

The style of this group is very close to the ivories found in Khorsabad. Sargon II built his palace in this city a year before his death in 706. This late date for the Khorsabad ivories and for a considerable part of the Nimrud ivories merely refers to the date when these ivories were placed inside the buildings or the rooms where they were discovered. They had been made elsewhere and not all of the objects were new when taken as booty. This has an important bearing on the question of the use made of ivory-carvings. To the extent that we consider them to be wall coverings which decorated the «ivory houses», we must give them the same dating as the buildings in which they were found. But if we take them to be parts of inlay furniture, then considerable differences in time between the building of the palaces and the making of the furniture and the ivories are feasible.

In Arslan-Tash (Khadatu) ivories were found in a state which makes it certain that they served as decoration for two beds which stood there. One of the ivories bears the inscription: *zt h[.....] br 'm' lmr'n hz'l bšnt [.....]* that is to say: «This is (...) son of Amma (made) for our Lord Hazael in the year. ...» In Nimrud an inscription was found of Adad-nirari III (805–782) in which the Assyrian king boasts that «Mari, King of Aram» transferred a great many possessions to him in an attempt to move him to lift the siege from his capital Damascus. Among the things which came to the Assyrian king in this manner is an ivory bed. «Mari», king of Damascus, is Ben-Hadad III, Hazael's son: hence, the bed with the inscription might have got to Khadatu after the fall of Damascus in 732, in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. The latter built a palace in Khadatu. One wonders, however, why the booty was not taken to Assyria but remained in northern Syria, since the bed was of such importance as to merit special mention in the King's inscription.

All the collections mentioned – Nimrud (Layard group), Khorsabad, Arslan-Tash – are close in both time and style (Phoenician) to the Samarian finds. The Samaria Ivories so far constitute the only ivory collection in Israel from the Middle Iron Age. The excavations at Hazor have yielded only isolated ivory objects until the end of the third season.

The Samaria ivories were not found inside a building nor in a defined stratum; in fact, Hellenistic remains were found underneath the ivory collection<sup>1</sup>. This proves that the collection reached this place as a result of

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. CROWFOOT & G. M. CROWFOOT, *Early Ivories from Samaria*. London 1938, 2–3. For detailed description of the finds and other information on the group, see the rest of the chapters of this book.

digging or cleaning operations carried out at a later period. Together with the ivories a fragment of an alabaster vessel was found bearing the name of Osorkon II (870–847). The archeologists ascribe the collection to Ahab (871–852), mainly on account of the references in the Bible to the house of ivory which this Israelite king had made and because of his close contacts with Phoenicia resulting from his marriage to Jezebel, the daughter of the King of Tyre. This dating makes the Samaria ivories much earlier as compared to the other ivory groups we mentioned; stylistically, however, they are very close. If the ivories belonged to the last palace of the Israelite kings in Samaria – and all the signs point in that direction – we must ask ourselves whether it is possible that decorations and furniture from Ahab's days were preserved unaltered, or at least without appreciable changes, in spite of the revolutions and wars which befell the city and the palace more than once after the death of the King. Let us just recall the great riches, the life of luxury and the international connections Israel enjoyed at the time of Jeroboam II (787–721). It was in his days that the Prophet Amos rose up and remonstrated against the beds of ivory and the houses of ivory.

The Samaria ivories must therefore be placed in the eighth century, both for historical considerations and for their closeness to the rest of the ivory groups from that same century. The collection included parts (vessels, ivories and alabaster vessels) that had been handed down from one generation to the next, their manufacture preceding the main collection; all the more so since the Samaria ivories are sub-divided according to technical and, to some extent, also to stylistic criteria. The differences possibly run parallel to the different ages of the groups.

A series of reliefs show Egyptian motifs with certain changes pointing to a Phoenician origin; similar slight changes also appear on the other Phoenician ivories found in Khorsabad, Arslan Tash and Nimrud, which definitely originated in the coastal cities. The carvings executed in a technique known as *ajouré*, i.e. a plaque without a background, is the group closer to the Syrian school. The wall or furniture of dark wood on to which the carvings were glued formed the contrastingly coloured background for the two lion sculptures which appear to have decorated parts of a chair (Fig. 5). Plaques with motifs of palm trees and lotus flower palmettes serve as evidence for Phoenicia's mixed culture, somewhat like distant echoes from Aegean art. The «Cypriote Palmette» (Fig. 6) motif is frequently used on eighth century ivories. In Samaria this palmette forms the frame for the «Horus, the Child» tablet. In Nimrud the palmette appears with griffins eating of its fruit. In Samaria there are numerous palmettes whose fronds turn downward (Fig. 7). This special form too has its parallels in

Arslan-Tash. The lotus is a common motif in ivory-carvings, not only when being held in human hands – a motif known from second millenium ivories – but also in a purely decorative capacity. This use has its origin in Egyptian tombs. As a tomb decoration lotus wreaths were hung from the ceiling; later on this was reduced to a drawing of the wreaths – but here too the lotus remained with its flowers turned downward. Disregarding the meaning of the motif the Phoenician artist used the lotus for decoration of furniture (Fig. 8). Egyptian influence stands out most clearly on a small plaque discovered in Samaria which has an inscription in hieroglyphs engraved on it. According to Rowe<sup>1</sup> the signs should be read *'lywšb* because Eliashib is a common name in the Bible.

The most outstandingly Canaanite motif among the Samaria ivories is that of the wellknown «Woman at the Window» (Fig. 9). This motif is connected with the Astarte cult and the cult prostitute attached to the Canaanite sanctuary. Such windows appear in great number at Arslan-Tash, and several examples were also discovered at Khorsabad and at Nimrud. In Cyprus the motif was transferred to metal objects. Occasionally, the motif appears in a «shortened» form such as a miniature window without a woman. Parts of such a window which belonged to a building were found during the excavations in Ramat Rahel.

The Woman at the Window motif is connected with the institution of the Canaanite cult prostitute, but it also appears as a regular motif in literature. Thus we have the mother of Sisera looking out of the window (Jgs. 5:28) as she waited for her son. Jezebel received Jehu in Jezreel ceremoniously, as it were; «And she painted her eyes, and attired her head, and looked out the window» (II Kings 9:30).

The motif of the Woman at the Window appears, with slight variations in all ivory collections from this period. The earliest example comes from Enkomi in Cyprus (13th cent.). There is no doubt that in art and literature this motif emanated from a cultic source. It is irrelevant whether the woman at the window is identical with the goddess Astarte herself according to her hairstyle, ornaments and certain other symbols, or if she is portrayed as a priestess or temple prostitute in the service of the Canaanite goddess of love. The latter aspired to resemble the revered goddess in everything. The smiling woman looking out of the upper storey of the house is definitely connected with the sexual aspect of this cult. It cannot be determined whether the intention is holy prostitution in the service of

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<sup>1</sup> A. ROWE, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Cairo 1936, p. xxxviii No. 76.

a shrine of which the window formed a part, or the sacrifice of virginity on the eve of marriage. The documents offer evidence in both directions; it would appear that there was no unified custom in this matter at all the shrines and at all times.

The Samaria ivories mark the process of a considerable decline as compared with the earlier ivories. Their range of motifs is more restricted; outside influences which had been so numerous with the ivories of the Bronze Age (Egypt, Mycenae, Mesopotamia) made way for almost exclusively Egyptian influence. True, the style is Phoenician – whereas the motifs and the forms underwent a process of adaptation to the requirements and taste of the Phoenicians. Only a few features show that other influences were not altogether forgotten by at least some of the artists who produced the Samaria ivories. The difference between the Samaria ivories and those from Megiddo is quite amazing. Hundreds of years of course separate the two groups; but considering the geographical proximity, one might have thought that the influence would have persisted beyond time.

One relief from Samaria does, however, exhibit considerable closeness to the 13th century Megiddo ivories. This is the tablet of a duel between a bull and a lion (Fig. 10), many details of which recall the duel between a dog and an ibex portrayed in a local work of art at Megiddo influenced by Mycenaean art <sup>1</sup>. The lion clasps the back of the bull in a similar manner to the movement of the dog and his tail curls in the same curious way. The subject of the duel may have been of religious and symbolic significance; in any event, the motif is obviously very old and was known since the time of the Sumerians. It is to the north that we must look for the affinity with the Samarian plaque because all the Nimrud ivories portraying similar scenes belong to the Syrian school.

Such a northern origin in no way contradicts the fact that this is a common motif in Mycenaean ivory work, since it too was influenced by the Mesopotamian tradition. The question arises whether at this late date it was the Mycenaean influence of the ancient tradition which was still active

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<sup>1</sup> G. LOUD, *Megiddo Ivories*, Chicago 1939, Pl. 16 a-e. An animal in similar position and style is found on a wooden box lid from the tomb of a XVIIIth Dynasty priest of Amon, Baal and Astarte at Memphis. (H. J. KANTOR, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium B.C.* Bloomington 1947, Pl. XXIV, A.) The name of the priest, *Sbryln* also called *Iby* is Hurrian; Iby, though a common Egyptian name may have been employed here with the double purpose to give the man of Asiatic origin an Egyptian name but at the same time one which is close to Semitic *ib*, «father». G. POSENER, *Une Liste de noms propres étrangers, Syria* 18 (1937), 189–190.

or whether a renewed and direct penetration took place here, directly from the Euphrates and Tigris Valley.

The appearance of the «Cypriote Palmette» (cf. Fig. 6), notwithstanding all the changes that had affected it, proves that Mycenaean elements were still present in this art, apparently with Cyprus as an important centre for the production of this mixed culture. Phoenician merchants and artists on the island brought these features to the metropolis whence they reached Mesopotamia, Assyria and Israel. Excavations at Hazor revealed a number of ivory carvings from the Israelite period. There is a perfume spoon, carved on both sides, its handle carved along its entire length in the form of the «Cypriote Palmette», the round concave part being designed for perfume (Fig. 11). The other side is badly damaged; it was made in the shape of a woman's body, probably on the lines of other perfume spoons. The head is preserved and from its two sides appear two birds – a unique phenomenon.

On a box found in the fortress of Hazor appears a sphinx and next to it a person kneeling down and lifting his hands in prayer (Fig. 12). The box is worked in the Syrian style. The figure of the praying person has its parallel in the relief on a bowl from the South-West palace at Nimrud.

An ivory handle found at Hazor shows a figure with four wings holding an imaginary plant (Fig. 13). This plant too has its origin in the Mycenaean palmette, though its form here represents a northern type, similar to that found at Til Barsib (Tell Aḥmar, south of Carchemish). Hence in addition to Phoenician influence, the ivories from Hazor also exhibit northern elements. Hazor's location and its conquest by Tiglath-pileser determined its earlier inclusion in the cultural sphere of its northern neighbours. Continued excavation of this site is likely to reinforce this initial impression received from the few ivories found there so far.

The child on the flower (Fig. 14) is inlay work. Part of the piece was inlaid with precious stones or coloured glass as can be seen from the frames for the leafs in the lower part of the object and from the child's sidelock. It portrays a young child sitting on a lotus flower; one hand holds a «whip», a common object in Egyptian art, which is always held by gods or kings. The child's other hand is in its mouth. This action and the «sidelock of the child» are meant to emphasize the child's tender age. The crown on its head consists of a central part shaped like a cylindrical hat; flanked by two feathers and next to them two uraei with sun disks on their heads. The crown rests on ram's horns. This type of crown is called Atef in Egyptian; it appears frequently on Phoenician works of art (ivories, seals and stone reliefs.) The object has a frame which is part of the Phoenician pal-

mette. The portayal is of the sun-god as a child. According to Egyptian tradition the sun is born anew every morning from the primeval lake; from it grows the water lily on which the sun-child sits. The motif is common in Egypt, the earliest example being from the time of Herihor (1085-1054 B.C.) (see page 110).

The kneeling god is Heh (Fig. 15), the god of «millions of years», whose image is linked with the blessing for longevity, as on the new year, for example. The god appears as a young man, kneeling and clasping a palm leaf with each hand, the Egyptian hieroglyph for «year». From the palms hang 'nh signs, the symbol of life. Here too the technique is inlay work; the frames are visible in the hat and the belt worn by the god. Next to him appears an additional god, resembling him in everything; however, the plaque is broken in this place. It is one of the many examples of a frieze on which the same god appears several times.

Another plaque (Fig. 16) shows two winged goddesses protecting the symbol Djed for stability. Both female figures and the pillar Djed are crowned by sun disks. The foot of the pillar is an inverted lotus-flower. It is highly significant that in this piece, so close to Egyptian prototypes, the hands of the female figures are extremely weakly drawn. The Djed-pillar stands here, as often in Egyptian art, for Osiris; and the two goddesses protecting Osiris are Isis and Nephthis, sisters of the god of the Netherworld.

The sphinx of Fig. 17 is a mixed being having the body of a lion, a human head and the wings of an eagle; it walks towards the left in a papyrus thicket. Between its front legs hangs a richly decorated apron on which the ajouré technique is employed. The plaque was glued on to a background of ebony thus creating a colour contrast. What we have here is a typical Phoenician motif which also occurs at Nimrud and Arslan-Tash. The sphinx is influenced by Egyptian art, but it is less close to it than the two foregoing objects as can be seen by the crown. This is actually the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; the artist did not, however, understand all the details of the crown. In addition, there was not sufficient room so that what we have here is a distorted form of the Egyptian crown, such as occurs also in other Phoenician work.

## IVORIES FROM NIMRUD AND PALESTINE

The two large groups of ivories so far discovered in Israel – in Megiddo and in Samaria – have been the subject of many discussions as regards the place which these ivory carvings occupy in the history of ancient art. The great variety of motifs which appear on the ivories and the considerable outside influence, which includes borrowings from the religion and mythology of alien peoples, and finally, the extent to which all these have left their mark on the intellectual life and literary creations of Israel demand a new investigation of this material. New discoveries, such as the Hazor ivories, are likely to be of assistance in clarifying the problems connected with the ivory groups mentioned.

The ivories found more than a hundred years ago in the excavations at Nimrud (the biblical Calah, Gen. 10:11) had been kept all this time in the store-rooms of the British Museum and were only now published in a special work by R. D. Barnett <sup>1</sup>. The author prepared a detailed catalogue which records the ivory collection, with photographs of the ivories. He also provides a general description of the Nimrud excavations and of the motifs appearing on the different ivories, and produces a survey of their development in ancient art and their general significance. Several chapters of the book are devoted to the technical aspect of the ivory carvings and to a clarification of the purposes for which the ivory tablets were made.

As early as 1935 Barnett differentiated between two schools in the art of ivory carving: the Syrian school and the Phoenician school. In accordance with this distinction the Nimrud ivories consist of two groups: one, discovered by Layard, is Phoenician; and the other, found in the excavations of Loftus, is Syrian. Layard's collection is close in time and style to the Samaritan ivory collections, with similar problems arising in both collections.

We have no certain information of the use made of these objects. The tablets could have been used equally to decorate furniture (chairs, beds)

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<sup>1</sup> R. D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London 1957, 1975<sup>2</sup>.

and for insertion into walls. The biblical expression «house of ivory» can be explained in both meanings. Barnett bases himself on Assyrian sources which attest to the accepted use of furniture with ivory inlay. They are usually lists of spoils, including a description of the booty which Sennacherib had taken from Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>: ivory beds, ivory chairs (the reference is to an unknown type of chair, called *kussimeš NI-Me-Di* in Accadian). The Bible alludes to different kinds of ivory objects, such as buildings decorated with ivory and King Solomon's ivory throne (I Kings 10:18), as historical facts worth mentioning since they demonstrate the wealth of the royal establishment and the flourishing foreign trade. The author of the Song of Songs uses the phrase «a tower of ivory» to describe the neck of his beloved (7:5). The incrustation of precious stones into ivory is alluded to in the verse: «His body is as polished ivory overlaid with sapphires» (ib. 5:14).

The formation of a rich ivory collection in a place such as Megiddo raises problems. Barnett<sup>2</sup> is of the opinion that the king of Egypt had a monopoly over ivories; he explains thus the accumulation of so many ivory objects in a small room in a Canaanite palace in Megiddo. The quantity of objects placed there also caused surprise among the excavators who tended to view the ivory collection in Megiddo as the property of an amateur collector<sup>3</sup>. However, in our view this is unlikely. If we consider the Megiddo ivories as evidence for the existence of a royal monopoly, the question remains, why ivory was chosen for this purpose. It may be connected with the special properties which the ancients attributed to ivory as a material suitable for carving which is taken from a living creature, thus making it possible to create images of special vitality – and this is proved by the story of Pygmalion.

The technique of filling the frames which project above the surface of the ivory tablet is close to the cloisonné technique known in Egypt as early as the period of the Middle Kingdom and even earlier<sup>4</sup>. The Assyrians called this ivory inlay *ihzū*, examples of which exist in the Layard and Samaria Collections. Examples of a slightly different technique were found in Samaria only, namely that of filling areas hollowed on the ivory tablets.

The closeness of motifs, style and technique between the Samaria and

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<sup>1</sup> D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II*, Chicago 1927, 1968, § 240.

<sup>2</sup> BARNETT, *op. cit.* 116.

<sup>3</sup> G. LOUD, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Chicago 1939, 2.

<sup>4</sup> A. LUCAS, J. R. HARRIS, *Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London / 1962, 182, 465.



the Nimrud ivories (Layard group) may help us in dating the Samaria ivories. Most scholars accept the view of the excavators who ascribe them to Ahab; except that these ivories were not found in the clear context of a certain stratum or in a certain building<sup>1</sup>. The assumption that this important material must be ascribed to Ahab results from historical considerations originating in the Bible. Thus, we not only know of the King's ivory throne, but also of the influence of Phoenician culture in Samaria via the entourage of Queen Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon. There is no doubt that the Samaria ivories are of Phoenician origin or at least were made with Phoenician inspiration. As against this, Frankfort writes that «Samaria was not destroyed before 722 B.C., and it is probable that more recent furniture than that made for Ahab was in use in the palace at the time of the catastrophe»<sup>2</sup>. Frankfort points to the close similarity between the Samaria and the Khorsabad ivories (Sargon II built his palace there in 706). Albright adopts a position midway between the two<sup>3</sup>. He sub-divides the Samaria ivories into a later Phoenician group (eighth cent. B.C.E.) and an earlier group (end of ninth cent.) which bears close similarity to the Arslan Tash finds. According to Albright, part of the last mentioned group actually came from Damascus. However, the bed of Hazael, whose ivory decorations were found in Arslan Tash, is of Phoenician origin. It appears unlikely that a city such as Damascus – far from Egypt and from the sea-shore – should have produced artifacts manifesting strong Egyptian influence like the Samaria, Nimrud or Khorsabad ivories<sup>4</sup>. On the basis of the findings at the Nimrud and Khorsabad excavations and according to the evidence of an inscription on one of the Nimrud ivories, Barnett dated the Layard Group «the last quarter of the eighth century». The reading of this inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs is not clear. It must be attributed, so it seems, to Ia'-u-bi'-di, King of Hamath, who suffered defeat in 720 B.C.E. at the hands of Sargon II in a battle near Qarqar<sup>5</sup>, where the inhabitants of Samaria had been the allies of the King of Hamath.

This alliance was not the only point of contact between Hamath and Samaria. The people of Hamath settled in Samaria after the conquest of the city by the Assyrians, as we read: «And the king of Assyria brought

<sup>1</sup> J. W. CROWFOOT, G. M. CROWFOOT, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London 1938, 2.

<sup>2</sup> H. FRANKFORT, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth 1954, 190.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archeology of Palestine*, Harmondsworth 1956, 137.

<sup>4</sup> BARNETT, *op. cit.* 133.

<sup>5</sup> LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.* § 55, § 134.

men from Babylon... and from Hamath... and they possessed Samaria» (II Kings 17:24). It emerges that the piece of furniture which bore the name of the defeated king was taken to Nimrud not long after this battle. Its manufacture preceded the battle by a number of years, that is to say, it took place in the reign of Hoshea, the last king in Samaria. Even assuming <sup>1</sup> – considering the quality of the work – the Nimrud ivories to be later than the Samaria ivories, this difference is not sufficiently decisive to explain the big gap between the period of the kingdom of Hamath and the time of Ahab. Frankfort is of the opinion that «In fact, the ivories found at Samaria, like those from Arslan Tash, resemble some found at Khorsabad so closely that we must assume either that they are from about the same date (end of the eighth century) or that the same motifs were repeated for a hundred years or more without much change». Hence, the Layard group of Nimrud ivories strengthens the view which gives a later date to the Samaria ivories <sup>2</sup>. This can be determined only on the basis of a comparison of the style, for which the material at our disposal is too meagre. There is, moreover, no justification to ascribe a certain group of ivories to an early period solely on account of its comparatively poor technical and artistic level, since there might be various reasons for the production of objects of inferior value in the same period in which that same centre produced also superior artistic articles. There may also be a certain decline under the influence of various historical processes which follow upon a period of great cultural achievement.

A consideration of the stylistic elements – where this is possible – enables us to follow the connection between the two great periods of this art, namely the Late Bronze and the Middle Iron Age. We shall confine our examples to one element: the «flame» motif on the hind legs of animals, mainly lions and imaginary creatures such as cherubs and seraphs. This stylization of the muscles on the lion appears to have come to the art of ivory work under the influence of metal engraving. If we accept Barnett's view, which Dussaud <sup>3</sup> questions, as regards the division of the ivories into a Phoenician and a Syrian school, we immediately realize that the «flames» appear on Nimrud ivories and on Syrian-style tablets only: Tabl. 1 – Phoenician style – as against Plates 21–22, 26, 36 of Barnett's Catalogue. Barnett <sup>4</sup> maintains, following Frankfort, that this style, which appears in place

<sup>1</sup> BARNETT, op. cit. 135.

<sup>2</sup> For the palaeographic comparisons see: BARNETT, op. cit. 161; E. L. SUKENIK, Notes on Hebrew Letters on the Ivories, in: Crowfoot, op. cit. (above, note 6) 8.

<sup>3</sup> R. DUSSAUD, *L'Art Phénicien du II Millénaire*, Paris 1949. 108.

<sup>4</sup> BARNETT, op. cit. 43.

of true carving of the body and its muscles, is an identifying mark of peripheral art. He bases himself on a sculpture from Tell-el-Amarna <sup>1</sup> of a duel between a lion and a bull as proof that in Syria and with the Hittites the same pattern is an element of peripheral art, dependent on the art of a centre. According to Barnett this pattern originated in Hurrian art. This sculpture is not worthy of the designation as an original work of art and certainly did not come from a great centre of art. It is not Egyptian in origin, nor is it known from what country it was brought to Tell-Amarna. Frankfort <sup>2</sup> remarks on the proximity between the fighting depicted in this sculpture and the fight between a dog and an ibex on an ivory comb from Megiddo <sup>3</sup>. This comb is certainly no original work of art – maybe the sculpture served the person who made the comb as a source of inspiration, mainly on account of the curious form in which the dog uses his front leg. H. J. Kantor (who considers this animal to be a lion) points to an ivory found in Delos <sup>4</sup>, which is a product of Mycenaean art, as the source for this conception. The sculpture from Tell-el-Amarna, therefore, belongs to peripheral art, while the flame pattern appears in the art of as great a cultural centre as Mycenae.

Another plaque from that same group <sup>5</sup>, on which appear a bull with a lion, shows a star on the shoulder of the lion. This star originated in Egyptian art and later found its way into Mesopotamian art <sup>6</sup>. This phenomenon proves that the Mycenaean artists who worked with ivory were influenced by the eastern artists. Considering that the raw material came from overseas and that the Asian artists had to acquire the technique of working with ivory, the penetration of eastern elements into Mycenaean ivory objects will be understood. The flame pattern appears on Enkomi ivories in Cyprus and in Hamath. In Megiddo the flame pattern is seen on numbers 7 and 19 of the collection. On no. 7 the star and the «flames» appear together; no. 6 has a star on the lion's shoulder. The bottom part of this plaque is missing, so that one cannot know if there were «flames». H. J. Kantor, in her important work on the ivories in Palestine and Syria in the Bronze Age, considers the «flames» to be a Mycenaean element <sup>7</sup>. In a classification of the Canaanite ivories according to the Egyptian, Canaanite, mixed Canaanite-Mycenaean and pure Mycenaean (import?) styles, Kantor

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<sup>1</sup> FRANKFORT (note 7) Pl. 152 B.

<sup>2</sup> FRANKFORT, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> LOUD, op. cit. Pl. 16 (No. 107).

<sup>4</sup> HELEN J. KANTOR, *Syro-Palestinian Ivories*, JNES 15 (1956) 169.

<sup>5</sup> CROWFOOT, op. cit. Pl. 10, 1.

<sup>6</sup> KANTOR, op. cit. 170.

<sup>7</sup> KANTOR, op. cit., fig. 2 A.

places these Megiddo plaques in the «mixed Canaanite-Mycenaean» section. She also points out the connection between 13th and 12th cent. ivories and animal sculptures in Tell Halaf. This connection finds expression, among others, in the flame pattern on the body of the lion, the assumption being that the local artists had before their eyes the example of ivory carvings and that at a period of political and economic prosperity, when the need for monumental artistic creations made itself felt, they continued the early pictographic tradition. In spite of the considerable differences in quality between the sculptures of animals and those of human beings, as pointed out by Kantor, it needs to be said that these «flames» are also found on an orthostat from the same place, showing figures half-bull and half-man<sup>1</sup>. Here the «flames» appear on the legs of the hybrid creatures. With this relief, as with the other sculptures of humans or hybrids, the influence of Assyrian art makes itself strongly felt. The discovery of «flames» on a work in the Assyrian style suggests that one must not exaggerate the difference in the portrayal of figures of animals and of human beings in the orthostats of Tell Halaf. It might be explained as a northern (Hurrian?) influence in the development of the flame pattern. It cannot be assumed that the sculptures from Tell Halaf which apparently date from the ninth cent. exerted a direct influence on the Nimrud ivories. It seems more likely that these sculptures and ivory objects had a common source of inspiration. It may be that the ninth cent. Tell Halaf artists were influenced by this city, which gave them the Canaanite art, which in turn was mixed with strong Mycenaean elements. It was also from this city that Sargon took spoils with him to his palace in Nimrud, and these form what we today know as the Loftus Group. Barnett suggests ascribing this group of Syrian art objects to the end of the eighth cent.<sup>2</sup> The finds from Delos, from Megiddo, from Tell Halaf and from Nimrud (the Loftus Group) may well be signposts in the development of a certain trend in Canaanite art; it is not within their power, however, to bridge the gap of centuries between the Late Bronze and the Middle Iron Age. The absence of Mycenaean motifs and style in the Samaria ivories, while the ivories of nearby Megiddo show many Mycenaean elements, as well as marks of strong Egyptian influence in Samaria, all demonstrate that in spite of the material in our possession we are not yet in a position to indicate the line of continuous development of the plastic arts in Canaan and Israel in general, and the art of ivory carving in particular.

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<sup>1</sup> FRANKFORT, op. cit. Pl. 159 A.

<sup>2</sup> BARNETT, op. cit. 52.

## ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MINING CENTRES IN SOUTH-SINAI

The Egyptians went to southern Sinai for turquoise: there is no evidence of ancient Egyptian copper-mining anywhere in the Peninsula. There were two great centres of turquoise-mining: Magharah east of Abu Rudeis and Serabit el Khadim east of Abu Zeneima<sup>1</sup>. Both sites are not easy of access from the Nile valley and we are surprised that the Egyptians should bother with very difficult expeditions under the hard conditions of Sinai just because of a beautiful stone which could not even be used, in powdered form, to be a base for colour. Turquoise is a luxury: therefore whenever there is a crisis in Egypt – during the «Intermediate Periods» and during the Tel Amarna crisis we have no evidence of Egyptian activity in the mining centres.

The older centre of the two is Magharah, which was in use from the time of the Third Dynasty in Egypt onward (2480–2350). For a time it was thought that a king of the first Dynasty, Semerkhet, was represented in the relief known as Sinai 1. This is the most beautiful relief in all Sinai and shows the king three times, once smiting an Asiatic enemy, twice holding weapons. A high official is depicted before the representations of the king. There is some difficulty in deciphering the text; for some years now – probably since 1935, but surely before 1967 when we first visited the site the name of the king has been chiseled out. In 1973 there was rediscovered a second relief, very similar in many details, obviously a duplicate of «Sinai 1» (Fig. 18). This relief had been seen and drawn (rather sketchily) in 1869 by the «Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai». Study of the

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<sup>1</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Researches in Sinai*, London 1906; A. H. GARDINER, T. E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, Part I, London 1952; Part II, London 1955. (Numbering of Inscriptions follows the system of this book.) R. GIVEON, *Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai*, Tel Aviv 1 (1974), 100–108. R. GIVEON, *The Stones of Sinai Speak*. Tokyo 1978 (Printing).

«new» relief and comparison with the old establish without doubt that the king depicted is Sekhemkhet of the Third Dynasty <sup>1</sup>.

Magharah is a name given in recent times by the Beduins to the western slope of Wady Qunayyah, which debouches into Wady Iqna'. There are three camps in this region: one, the smallest on the slope where the mines are, one, much bigger, at the foot of the eastern slope on a low natural plateau in the Wady, and the third, the biggest on top of the hill which forms the eastern part of the small Wady. The upper camp is fortified where the ascent is easy and left unfortified where the slopes are so steep that no danger was envisaged from that part. Near the entrances of the mines and at other spots the Egyptians wrote inscriptions and engraved reliefs.

Because the mines of Magharah continued to attract people looking for turquoise at the time Petrie worked on these reliefs – in fact until the present day, there was danger of further damage to the material: Petrie initiated therefore the transport of nearly all the rock-tablets to the Museum in Cairo. He did not remove the relief «Sinai 1»; because he thought (wrongly as it turned out) that it was too high and too difficult of access to be in danger. In our work we found Inscriptions 18, 22, 36 which were «lost» since they were first seen and new graffiti.

The work of the Egyptians went on at Magharah after the Old Kingdom: there is no monument and no other evidence in Magharah of the First Intermediate Period. The earliest inscriptions after the VIth Dynasty at Magharah are of Amenemhet III, that is a king at the end of the XIIth Dynasty. There was a document of the XVIIIth Dynasty at Magharah – of the coregency of Hatshepsut with Thutmosis III and there may have been one of Ramesses II: but these are isolated documents: the main interest of the Egyptian mining expedition was further north now – in the region of Serabit el Khadim and at Serabit el Khadim.

At the Wady Kharig, near Bir Nasb, some 9 km west of Serabit el Khadim there was found (by B. Rothenberg) the sole Old Kingdom document in the more northerly of the two main mining regions in south Sinai (Fig. 19). It is a beautiful rockinscription, which reads:

1. «Horus, Lord of Risings
2. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahure', granted life eternally
3. Thot, Lord of Terror, who smashes Asia» <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> R. GIVEON, A Second Relief of Sekhemkhet in Sinai, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 216 (1974) 17–20.

<sup>2</sup> R. GIVEON, Inscriptions of Sahure' and Sesostri I in Wadi Kharig, Sinai, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. To appear in No. 226 (1978).

Sahure' (2487–2473 B.C.) was a king in the fifth Dynasty, twice mentioned in inscriptions at Magharah. That is here an enemy of the Asiatics: this enmity is typical of other inscriptions and reliefs at Magharah, but exceptional in the region of Serabit el Khadim. It seems to us that Thot, enemy of the Asiatics can not be regarded as an adaption of an Asiatic moon-god reputed to have been adored in the region before the coming of the Egyptians.

Some little distance from the rock inscription of Sahure there is a camp which resembles a great deal the camps at Magharah. Like Magharah we have a temenos wall, very short in this case. Some hundred meters from the Sahure inscription there is a fallen-down stela of Sesostris I. (1971 – 1928 B.C.) (Fig. 20). Rüppel mentions this in 1829 as having fallen on its inscription: it was not found again until 1970 when we turned it on its side and could thus read its inscription and fix its date. This stela is lying on top of an ancient turquoise mine. There are other mines of turquoise in the region, but it seems that the Egyptians were searching for a concentration of mines, where large scale administration of an expedition with hundreds of workers would be possible.

This they found at Serabit el Khadim. In fact exploitation of turquoise in this region did not start then: J. Beit-Arieh discovered at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Serabit el Khadim stands, a site of the Chalcolithic period with clear signs of turquoise working. The first miners came to Serabit el Khadim in prehistoric times, built huts and industrial installations, for mining and work on the unpolished turquoise found. This site has to be dated to about 4000 B.C., at the time turquoise was used in the Negade II culture in Egypt and a pearl of turquoise was found at the excavations of Chalcolithic settlements at Beer Sheva.

The Egyptians of Pharaonic times came to Serabit el Khadim only at the time of the XIIth Dynasty: the first king whose inscription was discovered at Serabit el Khadem was the first king of the Dynasty, Amenemhet I. This inscription («63») is a base of a statuette of the king with his names and titles. The first king to leave his name on a building inscription is the second king of the Dynasty, Sesostris I. It seems that at the time the Egyptians were not longer satisfied with the output of the mines at Magharah and discovered here a large number of possible openings for mines: an administrative centre could organize work and supply and all other services by choosing a spot, more or less central on the high plateau from which the different mines could easily be reached. Camps were established, partly at the centre, partly near the entrances of the mines. The camps could be very simple because the Egyptians came to Sinai only during some

months in the winter. We know that slaves and prisoners of war were not included in these expeditions: the members of the expeditions were free men who chose to work here; their work was partly in payment of the costs of the mission in organisation, security, transport, food. Beyond this repayment by work (in which each member had to produce a certain minimum of turquoise) work was done on each member's own account. He would sell his turquoise to the head of the administration. Therefore each member of the expedition had an interest in its efficiency and success. That success depended, in his mind ultimately on the good will of Hathor, «Lady of the Turquoise». Hathor was an important goddess already at the beginning of Egyptian religion; she was a goddess of the sky, of love, of music, of the necropolis at Thebes. She was the goddess responsible for missions abroad, whether for trade or for mining. It was therefore necessary to build a temple for the goddess at Serabit el Khadim and the Egyptians chose the single hill big enough for the purpose and not too far from the different mines (Fig. 21). We think that the oldest part of the temple consisted of what Petrie called «Cave of Sopdu» – a small rock-hewn shrine of the time of the XIIth Dynasty. This is opposite an early phase of Petrie's «North Door» to which was leading a double row of stelae from the west. At a later stage of the XIIth Dynasty a certain Ameny decided to have his proper tomb cut out in the living rock right next to the shrine of the goddess. It is difficult to guess at his motives: was there a difficulty about the site of his tomb in Egypt? Was he so much attached to Sinai that he wanted to be buried there in spite of the all-pervading Egyptian desire and hope to be buried in Egypt itself? The part of the temple called by Petrie «Cave of Hathor» is without any doubt a typical Middle Kingdom tomb. However no sarcophagus or niche for a sarcophagus was ever found. It may be that Ameny died between two expeditions in Egypt and that his sons did not wish to honour the eccentric desire of their father to be buried in Sinai. Still at the time of the XIIth Dynasty it was decided to use the empty tomb as a shrine of Hathor: it was much bigger and more convenient for that purpose than the original shrine. At the time of Amenemhet III an altar was put into the cave of Hathor.

Amenemhet III began and his successor Amenemhet IV completed another building at Serabit el Khadim: the Shrine of the Kings, to the north of the main temple (which did not exist at the time). This shrine, devoted to the worship of Hathor, Ptah, Sopdu and Snoferu (deified), had one wall cut into the rock, and four column-bases show how the roof was supported. One of the stelae, Inscription 136, was used to carry a roof-beam: a square hole was cut into its inscribed south edge for this purpose. The shrine of



the kings is not a station in the processional way made up of Middle Kingdom Stelae.

On the contrary, it blocks that road. At about this time it seems that a room was added to the series of rooms in front of the Cave of Hathor: this is the «Sanctuary». However, the date of this part of the temple is far from sure: the many inscriptions of Ramesses IV found here belong to a later restoration or usurpation of the room. With the north-west corner of the «Sanctuary» the temple came very near the north edge of the hill on which it stands. In order to construct the north wall of the Court the architect changed the direction of the whole. All additions to the temple follow this new line. To the west of the Court there is Room «O». This room belongs to the time of Thutmosis III, like the neighbouring room N, more specifically to the time of his co-regency with Hatshepsut. Thutmosis III seems to have thought of closing his series of constructions with an imposing pylon, a gate-tower typical for the entrances of temples in Egypt. However, the builders of the temples who came after him did not respect his will but added rooms to the west, which masked the pylon. Petrie assigns the two chambers in front of the pylon (M and L) to Thutmosis III because of building-inscriptions he found there. However, it is possible that these inscriptions of the great king were taken over by builders at the time of his successors. Chamber K belongs to Amenophis II and Thutmosis IV. Room J – Thutmosis IV. E, D and C belong to Amenophis III, therefore Chambers F, G, H, to the east of this belong either to him or to Thutmosis IV. The rooms C, D, E form a unit, broader than most of the other rooms. Room B must belong to the early 19th Dynasty: there is a break in the sequence of inscriptions from Amenophis III to Ramesses I, founder of the XIXth Dynasty. Though no inscriptions of Ramesses I have been found in room B, we assume that it was this king who built «B». Room A is of his son, Sethos I. The entrance of Room A, adorned by stelae was the entrance to the temple as a whole. The additions made by the different kings were not for practical needs but justified the king in claiming «I built a temple for Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise». That there was a certain break at the time of Amenophis III can be seen by another fact: In front of room C (of Amenophis III) to the north and south of it there is a rough wall which encircled in its continuation nearly the whole temple: this is the temenos wall, indicating to visitors of the temple that they are on holy ground which obliges them to certain standards of behaviour (as regarding cleanliness for instance). Whoever built room B disregarded the wall. There are additional rooms to the south of the chain of rooms just described. Petrie called these rooms «Hanafiyah» – cleansing rooms. In these

rooms he found large tanks and he thought that they were used for ritual ablutions. It may well be that these large rooms served additional purposes.

Besides using the local Beduins as a cheap labour force and fighting – at Old Kingdom times – with Asiatics from the north, there was another, and more important contact between the Egyptians of the mining missions and the Asiatics. In a number of Middle Kingdom stelae we find Asiatics listed as important members of the Egyptian missions – important in their numbers and their professions. Some of them are depicted on stelae of the period: a group of men, where one is riding an ass, a second one is pulling the animal and a third is pushing it along from behind. In the temple, and its surroundings there were discovered the so-called Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (Fig. 22). They consist of a restricted repertoire of signs derived from Egyptian hieroglyphs. The limited number of signs lead early to the recognition of the fact that this is an alphabetic writing. The letters were chosen for their meaning in an ancient Semitic language: the Egyptian sign for a house was used for the letter *b*; regardless of the sound of the sign in Egyptian it was adapted to the Semitic word *Bayit*, house, and in alphabetical writing represents *b*. There is a great deal of discussion when this invention took place and where. We think of a date in the time of the XIIth Dynasty because of the frequent mention of Asiatics and their help in stelae of that time. Others think of the XVIIIth Dynasty. There is no doubt that the script was extremely important for the development of Canaanite, later Hebrew and Greek writing. During our work we found two new Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions in a part of the mining-district of Serabit el Khadim where none had been found before – not far from mine E. This does not solve the problem of the date, but every addition to the repertoire of these rare and important inscriptions is significant.

The first to see Serabit el Khadim was Niebuhr, in 1762. He managed to copy and publish some of the stelae which he took to be gravestones: he was under the impression that the whole was a graveyard – of the Children of Israel – during their wanderings in the desert. Wilson and Palmer copied a great deal of the inscriptions in their Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai in 1872. In 1904 there appeared Weill's «Recueil des inscriptions...» However, the most important step were the excavations of Petrie, at the beginning of this century in Magharah and Serabit el Khadim. In 1935 an American expedition went to Sinai; their main purpose was the discovery of further proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, in addition to those which Petrie found. With them went Černý. Černý was able to copy a great many inscriptions which were known before only from squeezes at the British Museum. The new edition of the Inscriptions of Sinai is his

work and is of an extraordinary quality<sup>1</sup>. When we went to Sinai to look at the temple anew in 1968 and just to the present times – 1977, we were able to discover a great many inscriptions at the site which were covered by sand when Černý went there: in many cases where his book indicated «not found 1935» we were able to check the originals with his reading made from the paper squeezes only. In some cases there were important differences and omissions in what the squeezes showed and what the original inscription contained. Besides several hundreds of new inscriptions were discovered by us during these years, many of them short and stereotype, but some being significant. When we decided to publish all this new and corrected material in a «corpus», a collection of new inscriptions and representations we thought it worthwhile to add to the collection unpublished Sinai material from various museums in the world.

## New Discoveries

### 1. *Hathor as a cow* (Fig. 23 and 24)

In Sinai Hathor appears mainly as a woman. This together with the worship in a cave and the expression «Lady of the Turquoise» which was read in some Pro-Sinaitic Inscriptions as Baalat gave rise to the idea that Hathor in Sinai is really the follower of an Asiatic goddess which was adored there before the Egyptians came. Otherwise we would have other forms in which the goddess was adored in Egypt, it was argued. Already from the time of the survey there was known Sinai 337 (Fig. 23), a relief showing the Hathor cow suckling the king. Since then we have found quite a number of reliefs showing Hathor as a cow, mostly adorned with a Menat. In the piece illustrated here (Fig. 24). we have straight lines behind the cow which indicate the thicket from which the Hathor cow breaks in the mountains of Thebes.

### 2. *Prisoners* (Fig. 25)

It was assumed that the fact that the Egyptians lived in peace with the Asiatics in Sinai during the time of the Middle and the New Kingdom would be reflected in the iconography of the temple by the absence of war-like scenes. We have found two instances which are in contradiction to

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<sup>1</sup> In the works quoted in note 1 there is bibliographical material on the history of the research, especially in the work by GARDINER, PEET and ČERNÝ.

this: one, illustrated here, shows a bound prisoner (Fig. 25). No date can be given to the piece; another example belongs to the time of Thutmosis III and was part of the decorations of the pylon. It shows the king in the typical attitude of raising a mace in one hand and holding with the other an enemy whose head he is going to smash. The relief in question is much damaged, what can be clearly seen in the upper part of the body of the king (with some epithets) and the feet of the prisoner which show that he is kneeling. We see here that the Egyptians used traditional temple-decorations without any need for an actual situation which would justify this, either as a record of events or as magic means to prevent enemies from attacking Egypt or Egyptian possessions.

### 3. *The Stele of Sennufer* (Fig. 26 and 27)

This round-topped stele was found in 1971 in Room L.

Face A (Fig. 26).

Above the winged disk with two uraei descending from it. Below this the king (Thutmosis III) is shown offering to Hathor. Above him there is the inscription: «The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of action, *mn - hpr - r'*» (= Thutmosis III) behind him there is «Given life, like Re'.»

Opposite the king stands Hathor in the shape of a woman, with long wig and garment. She is holding a flower on a long stalk, a sun disk with horns is on her head and an uraeus on her forehead. For lack of space the inscription near her is divided into three parts; it reads: «Hathor, Lady of the turquoise».

Face B (Fig. 27).

On top of the stele there is the *šnw* ring in the centre, a cup below and ujat-eyes on both sides. Below this, the owner of the stele, Sennufer can be seen in a gesture of adoration, with his name above him and three columns of inscription before him:

1. «Hereditary prince and Count, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole friend, mouth [calming]
2. the whole land, favourite of Horus in his place
3. who enters first and comes out last, praised by the lord of the two lands...»

Above Sennufer: «Sennufer, repeating life».

«Horus» in this case refers to the reigning king. «Repeating life» is a funerary formula. Sennufer erected the stele not as a memorial of his activities in the mining district but as a funerary stele, effective because it was

dedicated to Hathor, goddess of the cemetery at Thebes, where Sennufer had his tomb. From the tomb we know that he was sent by the king on other foreign expeditions. His activities in Sinai are attested in an inscription on the pylon and a stele similar to ours (199).

#### 4. *The Inscription of the Chief Charioteers* (Fig. 28)

The inscription is made on a block which was used previously to represent an adoration scene.

«The Chief Charioteer of His Majesty, *P3-r' -hr - wnmf.f*, true of voice  
«The Chief Charioteer of His Majesty *Mntw - hr - hpš.f.*»

Two sons of Ramesses II are known by this name, and equally two sons of Ramesses III. Ramesses II is better represented at Serabit el Khadim; on the other hand the two sons of Ramesses II do not appear one after the other in the list of princes: another name intervenes between them. In the list of princes at Medinet Habu (Ramesses III) the two names follow each other like in our inscription.

#### 5. *A Purification Scene* (Fig. 29)

This relief is badly damaged; there can be seen the head of a young king with a formal headdress, a headband and a uraeus. Behind him stands Horus, falcon-headed, and holding a *hs*-vase in both hands. A stream of hieroglyphs issues from the vase: there are the signs: '*nh* (Life) *wzs* (Domination) and *dd* (Stability). Another god stands before the king. He also is holding a *hs*-vase, from which issues a stream of the same hieroglyphs. The god himself was depicted on an adjoining block. He can be identified by the hieroglyph for Thot above. Above the king there appeared his name, in a cartouche, the hieroglyphs are badly damaged, but may present part of a name of one of the kings called Thutmose. We have to decide between Thutmose III and Thutmose IV. As this slab was found in room «C» we should prefer Thutmose IV for a relief from a part of the temple which dates to the later half of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The phrase «Beloved of Hathor...» appears also. There is a small block at the temple, unpublished so far, which seems to show a vase held for a similar purpose of purification. The scene is part of a series belonging to the coronation ceremony: besides the «baptism» the series showed the young king presented to Amun, the crown being placed on his head, by Thot and Horus, the crown being adjusted by Amun.

## 6. *An Inscription of Thutmosis IV (1425–1408)*

This is partly a re-discovery: the inscription (No. 60) was found about a hundred years ago by the Ordnance Survey, a squeeze was made of the upper part and it was not found again neither by Petrie nor by Černý who looked for it. We discovered it in February 1977.

In the following translation we underline the parts which did not appear on the squeeze and present new material;

«Year 7 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Mn-ḥprw -R'* (= Thutmosis IV) *beloved* by Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise; the good god *Mn-ḥprw-R'*, to whom live is given *forever*. The son of Rē' Thutmosis *H'ḥ'w*. The princess Wadyet, *may she live*

*The messenger of the princess Wadyet the great commander of a host of Tjeku, 'Imn-m- ḥꜣt The Overseer of the stone-masons Pth; 'Imn-m- ḥꜣt»*

Tjeku is Biblical Pithom, modern Tell el Maskutah in the Wady Tumilat. This presents another instance when high Egyptian officials serving at key points on the eastern border of Egypt were called to do essential work in Sinai, most probably at a time of quiet at the borders. The personal names occurring here, Imnemhat and Ptah are known from other documents; it is not clear why Imnemhat puts his name again without title preceding.

## «LADY OF THE TURQUOISE» HATHOR AT SERABIT EL KHADIM AND TIMNA

In the inscriptions from the temple at Timna <sup>1</sup> in the Araba occurs several times the expression «Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise». (*nbt mfkkt*). We shall deal here with this epithet and with Hathor in the two Egyptian temples outside Egypt from the times of the Pharaohs <sup>2</sup>.

Hathor starts her career in Egyptian religion as a composite figure. She has many characteristics and epithets, some of which she received from goddesses, which she absorbed as time went by. Even her name shows her composite character: Hathor means the «house of Horus», that is, the womb which contained the sky-god. She does not possess a name of her own – her name refers to another god and her relation to him.

Some epithets of Hathor refer to foreign countries and regions Hathor is the Lady of Byblos <sup>3</sup>, of Punt <sup>4</sup>, of Cush <sup>5</sup>, of Imu <sup>6</sup>. All these epithets appear toward the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. There is no connection between the cult of Hathor in Egypt and these «geographical» epithets. Perhaps they have their origin in the tradition of Hathor being the «goddess from afar», the eye of the sun sent out to the far south. It is also possible that the epithet *nbt kpn* is the translation into Egyptian of the Canaanite name of the local goddess: Lady of Byblos, Baalat Gebal.

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<sup>1</sup> B. ROTHENBERG, Timna, London 1972, 164, Fig. 48; 165, Fig. 49; R. GIVEON, Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies I, Jerusalem 1969, 50.

<sup>2</sup> The main points of this paper were contained in a paper read before the Second Archaeological Congress, Jerusalem 14.3–15.3. 1973.

<sup>3</sup> A. DE BUCK & A. H. GARDINER (ed.), The Egyptian Coffin Texts I, Chicago 1935, 262 (Spell 61).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 204 (Spell 47).

<sup>5</sup> A. ERMAN, Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 42 (1905), 109.

<sup>6</sup> K. SETHE, Urkunden des Alten Reiches I, Leipzig 1933, 128, 1. 12; J. H. BREASTED, Ancient Records of Egypt I, New York 1906, 160, § 351.

Other epithets of the goddess Hathor refer to certain stones and to silver. Thus we have Hathor as «Lady of Turquoise» (*mfk3t*), Lady of Lapis-Lazuli (*hsbd*),<sup>1</sup> Lady of Amethyst (*hsmn*)<sup>2</sup>, Lady of Silver<sup>3</sup>, and Lady of a certain stone which seems to be quartz with the colour of amethyst<sup>4</sup>. All these epithets are from the time of the XIIth Dynasty. The epithet «Lady of Turquoise» appears for the first time in an inscription of Amenemhet I, the founder of the dynasty, at Serabit el Khadim.

Allam relates these epithets to the very common epithet of Hathor: «gold» or «the golden one».

«Demnach wurde die Göttin Hathor mit dem Silber und mit Gold – beide Edelmetalle bildeten mit Leinen, Salben etc. im wesentlichen den Bestand des Schatzhauses Ägyptens, – in Verbindung gebracht. So liegt es nahe, auch anderes edles Material, wie den Türkis mit ihr in Verbindung zu bringen»<sup>5</sup>.

The epithet «gold» belonged originally to the very ancient goddess Mafdet, who had the form of a serval-cat<sup>6</sup>. This kind of wild cat was also connected with the legend of the «goddess from afar». If we follow Allam, we should expect that Hathor would have more epithets connected with valuable material, especially material which has its origin in Egypt itself.

Others think that the Egyptians, when they came to Serabit el-Khadim, identified Hathor with a local goddess. Thus she received the epithet «Lady of Turquoise» in the same way as she received the epithet «Lady of Byblos». According to this theory replaced Hathor a Canaanite goddess at a spot which was the centre of the cult of the Canaanites who mined turquoise before the Egyptians of the XIIth Dynasty came to Serabit el-Khadim for mining purposes. This Canaanite goddess had the form of a woman, like Astarte, and her cultplace was a cave, in accordance with Canaanite ritual and different from Egyptian habits.

Against this theory there is first the complete lack of evidence of a cult

<sup>1</sup> A. H. GARDINER, T. E. PEET & J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (Henceforth: *Inscriptions*) I, London 1952; II, London 1955, No. 102

<sup>2</sup> A. FAKHRY, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi*, Cairo 1952, 36, Fig. 28 (From the 13th Year of Sesostri III).

<sup>3</sup> P. E. NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan I*, London 1893, 82.

<sup>4</sup> R. ENGELBACH, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (= ASAE) 33 (1933), 72, No. 11; Pl. 3: 3; A. LUCAS & J. R. HARRIS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London 1962, 402–403.

<sup>5</sup> S. ALLAM, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien IV), Berlin 1963, 81.

<sup>6</sup> W. WESTENDORF, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 118 (1969), 255.



preceding the Egyptians at this place. In any case, the «Cave of Hathor» did not serve for such a ritual. This is an artificially cut tomb-chamber of a type well known in the Middle Kingdom in Egypt. At the time of the XIIth Dynasty this burial cave was dedicated to Hathor. We do not know whether the cave was only prepared to serve as a burial place or whether it served for a real burial. In any case no sarcophagus or implements for a burial were found there. The nature of this cave as a tomb was already seen by Borchardt <sup>1</sup>.

It seems to us that the very first spot in which Hathor was worshipped was the part of the temple of Serabit el-Khadim which Petrie called «Cave of Sopdu». This is a miniature shrine of a type well known in Egypt. Its relation to the «Northern Entrance» and the «Old Approach» shows that this small shrine is on one axis with the constructions of the earliest building stage at Serabit el-Khadim. The inscription mentioning Sopdu on the pillar in the «Hall of Sopdu», which is next to the «Cave of Sopdu», mentions Hathor before Sopdu. This inscription is of the time of Thutmosis III <sup>2</sup>.

Another inscription <sup>3</sup>, which dated to the XIXth or XXth Dynasty, mentions Sopdu before Hathor; however, it is doubtful whether there was a direct connection with the «Cave of Sopdu». A roof intervened between the inscription and the cave beneath it. Furthermore, this inscription, like the one of Thutmosis III, is too late to bear witness as to the primary function of the «Cave of Sopdu». XIIth Dynasty inscriptions mentioning Sopdu and representations of the god can be seen in the «Shrine of the Kings», an early construction in the temple of Serabit el-Khadim.

If it is true that the «Cave of Sopdu» was the original cult place of Hathor and only later was the cult transferred to the «Cave of Hathor», which is larger and more convenient, then we can not claim that there was at Serabit el Khadim a Canaanite cult of a goddess before the arrival of the first Egyptian miners. The «Cave of Sopdu» is not a real cave but a shallow cult-niche.

It has been claimed that Hathor appears at Serabit el-Khadim only in the shape of a woman, which would be an argument for her Canaanite origin <sup>4</sup>. We found, during our investigations at the spot, quite a number

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<sup>1</sup> L. BORCHARDT, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 35 (1897), 112–115.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions* No. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 296.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance: W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Researches in Sinai*, London 1906, 191–192.

of reliefs showing Hathor as a cow <sup>1</sup>. In one of the inscriptions she is called «Lady of *Tphw*» (Aphroditopolis), modern Aṭṭīḥ <sup>2</sup>. The cult image of Hathor at Aṭṭīḥ is a cow.

There are, thus, two facts which tend to show that Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim did not replace a Canaanite goddess: her cult did not take place in a cave and her representations in the temple were not limited to the shape of a woman.

Allam and Morenz assume that Hathor was the preferred goddess in Sinai because of the initiative of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. Several of these were even called after her: *s-n-wsrt* «The man of the Great-One» with other words, the man of Hathor (Sesostris). Hathor was the patroness of the economic initiatives of the Dynasty <sup>3</sup>. However, it has to be pointed out that Hathor, as goddess of far-away places to which the Egyptians sent commercial missions (Punt, Byblos), is earlier than the XIIth Dynasty. There is a direct connection between the group of epithets with toponyms and the group of epithets (which is a little later) which contain names of minerals which were brought from outside Egypt. In both cases Hathor is the patroness of Egyptians who went abroad for hard and dangerous work, and not in order to engage in warfare.

The epithet «Hathor, Lady of Punt» is earlier than the epithet «Hathor, Lady of Turquoise».

The association of Punt, the land in the far south, with Hathor may have its origins in the legend of the travels of Hathor, who was sent by the great god to the land of the south. In an inscription found at Serabit el-Khadim an official tells us about his travels, which brought him to Punt and to Sinai <sup>4</sup>. The grafitto of a giraffe at Rod el-'Air <sup>5</sup> on the way to Serabit el-Khadim, points perhaps to the fact that the same people were sent out to commercial undertakings to different countries. Likewise the famous story of the Shipwrecked Sailor points to a connection between travels to Punt and to Sinai.

Three inscriptions of Middle Kingdom times found at Maghara name Hathor as «Lady of the Turquoise Land», the word *mḥkꜣt* for turquoise has the determinative «foreign country» <sup>6</sup>. The expression «Lady of Turquoise» belongs, therefore, to the early group of epithets of Hathor with

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<sup>1</sup> R. GIVEON, Qadmoniot 4 (1971), 16.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions, No. 313.

<sup>3</sup> S. ALLAM & S. MORENZ, Forschungen und Fortschritte 36 (1962) 8.

<sup>4</sup> Inscriptions, No. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., No. 520.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Nos. 27–29.

toponyms and to the slightly more recent group of names of minerals. It seems to us that this development explains the epithet «Lady of Turquoise» and the connection between the goddess and Serabit el-Khadim. Her function as messenger of the god into far-away countries brought Hathor to Sinai. This is the cause of her presence there, not the worship of a Canaanite goddess or the special relationship between the goddess and the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. This relationship of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty to Hathor was a result of the economic activities of the kings abroad.

The epithet «Lady of the Turquoise» appears for the first time in Serabit el-Khadim at the time of Amenemhet I. The epithet appears there without the determinative «foreign country»<sup>1</sup>. The temple at Serabit el-Khadim is therefore the first site at which we have Hathor with an epithet concerning precious material. This was not only her first epithet in this category, but it was the one which influenced her protocol at other sites which had nothing to do with turquoise and its storage<sup>2</sup>.

Four sites are known outside Sinai, dating from the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period, in which the epithet «Lady of the Turquoise» appears.

#### A. Timna

The beginning of the Egyptian Temple of Timna (Arabah) dates to the time of Seti I of the XIXth Dynasty. The epithet «*nbt mfkꜣt*» appears on several faience objects, offerings to the goddess. We can not be sure that these objects come from the beginning of the use of the temple.

This temple stands in the centre of a district rich in copper; of turquoise there is no trace in the whole district and in the whole of the Arabah<sup>3</sup>. When the temple was in use, from the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty to the days of Ramses V, the epithet *nbt mfkꜣt* was well established and served to describe the goddess without any reference to copper mining at the site; this, in spite of the fact that from an economic point of view copper was much more important than turquoise. There is no inscription

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., No. 63.

<sup>2</sup> N. DE G. DAVIES & A. H. GARDINER, The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I and of his Wife Senet (No. 60), London 1920, Pl. 10; ALLAM (supra, n. 11), 73. In the tomb of Senet, «Lady of Punt» refers to the presents offered to the deceased, not to the cult of the goddess.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *mfkꜣt* did not include malachite, which is found at Timna. See: J. R. HARRIS, Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, Berlin 1961, 106-110.

at Timna in which a «Lady of Copper» is mentioned. We conclude that the prestige of Hathor as guardian of the turquoise miners reached Timna.

### *B. Gebel Abu Hassa*

In this «Migdol» in the Eastern Delta <sup>1</sup>, the beginning of which dates to the XVIIIth Dynasty, was found a Stela of Ramses II, in which there appears «Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise». It seems that at this spot there was a temple of Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise, hundreds of years after the beginning of mining activities at Serabit el-Khadim. Without doubt the fort and the temple were established at this spot because the road to Sinai, to the mining centre and its temple, Serabit el-Khadim, passed here <sup>2</sup>.

### *C. Kom-Abu-Billo*

The name of this site in the Western Delta is «Lady of the Turquoise» <sup>3</sup>. This can be seen from inscriptions discovered on the spot, from the time of Sheshonk IV (767–730) <sup>4</sup>, a king of the XXIIth Dynasty. The outstanding fact is that the epithet appears here a considerable time after all Egyptian activities at Serabit el-Khadim ended (with Ramses VI). In addition Komb-Abu-Billo is situated far away from Sinai and routes leading to it. A possible explanation is offered by Yoyotte: by the end of the XXth Dynasty the guardians of Serabit el-Khadim were transferred to another spot, to do guard duties against the Libyans <sup>5</sup>.

### *D. The Serapeum at Alexandria*

Ptolemaic inscriptions discovered at this site have the epithet «Lady of the Turquoise» <sup>6</sup> for Hathor. These inscriptions have no connection with

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<sup>1</sup> J. CLÉDAT, Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 16 (1919) 212.

<sup>2</sup> On the roads leading from Egypt to South-Sinai see: Inscriptions II, 11–13.

<sup>3</sup> E. NAVILLE, F. L. GRIFFITH, The City of Onias and the Mound of the Jew – The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahudieh, London 1890, 60–64.

<sup>4</sup> The epithet «Lady of the Turquoise» lives on until the Ptolemaic period at this site. See: B. V. BOTHMER, Ptolemaic Reliefs II. Temple Decorations of Ptolemy I Soter, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1 (1952) 51–52. There may well be a connection here with the Ptolemaic inscriptions having the same epithet, discovered at Alexandria (see below).

<sup>5</sup> I should like to thank Professor J. YOYOTTE for the possibility to peruse his paper «Le culte d'Hathor – Dame de la Turquoise dans le Delta Occidental» before its publication.

<sup>6</sup> E. BRECCIA, ASAE 8 (1907) 65; A. ROWE, Suppl. ASAE 2 (1956) 9; H. BAKRY, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo 28 (1972) 76.

a temple of Hathor or approach to such a temple. At this late period the epithet became a general one for the goddess without reference to mining.

We did not deal here with instances where the epithet «Lady of the Turquoise» is mentioned without a clear reference to the location of the site in the eastern or the western Delta. This is the case, for instance, in the cuneiform inscription of Assurbanipal <sup>1</sup>, who mentions the conquest of the city of *pihatarunfki*, which corresponds to an Egyptian *pr- hthr -nb(t) fkt*: «The town of Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise».

Hathor reached Sinai as an Egyptian goddess and her attributes there are in accordance with Egyptian traditions. At Serabit el-Khadim she received a new epithet «Lady of the Turquoise». As time went by, this epithet gained in importance and two sites in Egypt were called by this name. The epithet retained its religious importance until the days of the Ptolemies. Outside Sinai this name appears for the first time in Timna. The miners of Timna adopted this name of the goddess because she had shown herself efficient under this name in Sinai. The miners of Timna did so in spite of the fact that «Turquoise» did not exactly fit their conditions.

The temples at Serabit el-Khadim and Timna are both «firsts» in relation to the epithet «Lady of the Turquoise»: The name was created in Serabit el-Khadim, and at Timna it became a general designation of the goddess, unrelated to turquoise as a mineral.

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<sup>1</sup> D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II*, Chicago 1927, 293, § 771. *fkt* is a short form for *mfkkt*. There is no connection between *mfkkt* or *fkt* and *Dofqah* of the Bible (Nm. 33, 12). The only element common to both words is the consonant *f*. As against this it seems that there is a connection between *mfkkt* and Hebrew *nphk* (*nophek*). See: T. O. LAMBDIN, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73 (1953) 152.

## HATHOR AS THE GODDESS OF MUSIC IN SINAI

Serabit el-Khadim in the south-west of the Sinai Peninsula<sup>1</sup> is a site which has been attracting many thousands of Israeli sightseers. This extraordinary place is a temple of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. It was put up in the heart of the desert to serve the expeditions which came from the Nile Valley to this region – rich in turquoise – from the time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt (2160–1580 B.C.E.) to the days of Ramses VI (1156–1148). This ancient Egyptian temple, with its hundreds of inscriptions in hieroglyphic writing and impressive wall reliefs, situated in a spectacular landscape (Fig. 30, view from Serabit to the north), provides the music lover with a singular experience: this is one of the few early sites which also give occasion to learn something of ancient music.

Hathor was a goddess of many attributes – and she was also the goddess of dance and music. The musical instruments peculiar to her are mentioned in inscriptions and portrayed on reliefs. Hathor was one of the greatest and earliest goddesses of Egypt: Egyptian theology and mythology invest her with important functions. Being the goddess of heaven she appears as a cow and is frequently portrayed as a woman with the ears of a cow. As the goddess of heaven she is closely related to the god Horus, one of the first gods of heaven in Egypt. Her very name attests to this relationship: The meaning of the name Hathor is «House of Horus», in other words, Hathor is the mother of Horus. As the mother of Horus she is closely connected to another goddess, i.e. Isis, who, according to a well-known tradition, is also regarded as the mother of Horus. Being a woman and a mother, Hathor is the goddess of love, beauty, joy, dance and music.

A temple was built for her in Sinai because according to tradition, dating

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<sup>1</sup> On this site see R. GIVÉON, *Le temple d'Hathor à Serabit el-Khadem*, in: *Archaeologia* (Paris) No. 44 (1972) 64–69.

back to the beginnings of Egyptian history, Hathor was also the goddess of distant lands, especially those which were a source of merchandise and materials lacking in Egypt. She is the Lady of Punt in the south and of Byblos in the north, and the Lady of Turquoise at Serabit el-Khadim (and in the temple discovered in 1969 at Timna in the centre of ancient copper mines). The Egyptians who built her a temple in Sinai were able to portray her in the forms to which they were accustomed in the temples in Egypt itself, especially in her central temple at Dendera. Thus she appears in Sinai as a cow Hathor is depicted a great many times at ūerabit el Khadim as a woman with typical locks and ears of a cow (Fig. 31). She appears just as a woman, as a snake and as a cat. Why a cat? The great god Ra, the sun god, once sent her to far-away Ethiopia; she felt that she had been neglected during her absence, so in her wrath she turned into a mighty lioness. The god Thot came to her with sweet words and sweet music, placating her so that she turned into a placid cat and returned home in peace. Since then, the instrument called a sistrum, is sacred to Hathor. The name for the instrument is derived from a Greek source. The sistrum is not identical with the biblical castanets (*mēnaʿan* 'im) (2 Samuel 6,5) <sup>1</sup>.

The Egyptians distinguished between two kinds of sistra <sup>2</sup>: the *sešešet* and the *sehem*, the meaning of the root *sešeš* being to uproot papyrus plants. This is an allusion to the ancient custom of uprooting papyrus in order to shake the plants and thus produce a rustle which recalls Hathor's stay in the papyrus thicket. It is therefore not surprising that the handle of the *sešešet* is sometimes decorated with papyrus leafs. At a very early period every sistrum was called *sešešet*, but later on the name came to denote just one particular form of the instrument, the upper part of whose handle is in the shape of a woman's head with cow-ears (Hathor), with the gate of a large building or temple above it. Both sides have a spiral line. Metal wires were fixed between the «doorposts» of the gate, and these emitted a sound when the instrument was moved or when the wires touched each other, and, occasionally, by the movement of metal discs suspended from them. The sistrum is a symbol of the goddess. To begin with, however, it was a kind of hammer; its use as a musical instrument and the wires attached to it are late. This theory that the sistrum was originally not a cult object is also born out by its having been found in the form of a *sešešet* in Egypt, Sinai and Timna, made of stone and of faience, thus being unsuit-

<sup>1</sup> BATHJA BAYER, Biblical Encyclopaedia V, Jerusalem 1968, 766 (Hebrew).

<sup>2</sup> F. DAUMAS, Revue d'Egyptologie 22 (1970) 72–73.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 62–70.

able as a musical instrument. In presenting a sistrum to a mortal – generally to a king – Hathor's intention is not to provide him with a musical experience, but as a blessing for long life as can be seen by the words accompanying these scenes. With the other type of sistrum, called *sehem* the wires pass through a metal frame something like a bow, and it is easier to produce sounds from this instrument.

Hathor's second musical instrument is the menat. This is really a necklace with a breastplate and a counterweight for the back, with beads on the thick necklace between them. There are differences of opinion whether the menat was, in fact, a musical instrument. A sound might have been produced when the breastplate touched the counterweight. In any event, the menat is frequently mentioned in Egyptian literature together with the sistrum so that one may assume both to have been musical instruments.

We pointed out that the sistrum *sešēšet* was not originally a musical instrument; neither was the menat nor did it form part of one. The menat began life as wooden «dolls» which were placed inside graves during the period of the Middle Kingdom. They are concubine figures given to the deceased so as to ease his life in the beyond. In order to ensure that the concubine would not run away from the deceased, these figures were fashioned without legs. In the course of time the hands and also the head degenerated and the gift to the dead turned into a symbol of the female sex and of birth. Now the main parts of the sculpture are the breasts, the sexual organ and the extremely broad hips – an allusion to pregnancy<sup>1</sup>. It is not surprising that as time went on the fertility symbol developed into Hathor's symbol. In Dendera, which is her cult centre in Egypt, one of the halls is called «House of the Menat» and this name is occasionally used to denote the entire temple. The devotees of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim added this object to the goddess' symbols and musical instruments. The temple at Serabit el-Khadim was situated in the mining centre; it was sacred to Hathor, as the goddess of the mines and as the goddess who presides over Egyptian economic affairs in foreign lands. This does not imply, however, that this was the only aspect of her cult of importance in this place: the goddess appears in many guises in the temple, according to her manifestations in Egypt (which also goes to show that in Sinai Hathor was not the result of a metamorphosis of a local Canaanite goddess). That is the reason why she also appears as the goddess of music. On several reliefs she is

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<sup>1</sup> P. BARGUET, Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 52 (1953) 103–111.



shown holding a sistrum: on altar 89<sup>1</sup> which was found in the Cave of Hathor in the temple from the time of Amen-em-het III (1887–1850), the goddess holds a sistrum with the King standing opposite her and presenting her with a gift.

On a relief, which we found in the spring of 1971, Hathor presents both a sistrum and the symbol of power to that same king. A relief on the southern wall of the «Shrine of the Kings», from the time of Amenemhet IV (1800–1792), shows three such instruments on a stand as part of the gift presented to Hathor by the King. On a lintel (202) we see a sistrum with hands, one of which presents the symbol of life to the King, who is portrayed here in the figure of a sphinx. This is an example of a sistrum symbolizing the goddess herself. On another relief (322) a woman walks behind the king. The king presents the goddess with libation jars – that part of the relief which would have shown her no longer exists. The woman offers two sistra of the *sešēšet* type. On yet another relief (338) a woman presents two sistra with one menat. A statue of a king, found in the temple, portrays on its front a relief of the sistrum representing the goddess. Hathor holding a menat, appears at Serabit el-Khadim on a relief of Amenhotep III. This relief decorates the entrance to the turquoise mines west of the temple (56). In the Shrine of the Kings the goddess appears once again with the menat, this time she presents it to the god Ptah (125). Nearby we see a woman presenting the menat to the king. On a recently discovered relief (Fig. 24) Hathor appears as a cow with the menat on her neck and the counterweight – a particularly large one – on her back. The background lines are papyrus stalks – an allusion to Hathor in the thicket. This relief belongs to the New Kingdom in Egypt (1580–1090). A statue bearing the titles and names of Queen Hatshepsut (1520–1484) portrays a woman holding a menat on her knees. The upper part of the statue is missing; it may have shown the goddess, or the queen in the image of the goddess. Not only her temple in Sinai but also her temple at Deir el Bahri was decorated with Hathor – columns: her head is crowned by a sistrum in this case (Fig. 32).

Visitors to the temple from Egypt had brought many gifts with them for the goddess, among them examples of sistra and menats made of faience,

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<sup>1</sup> Numbers of Inscriptions refer to the numeration in A. H. GARDINER, T. E. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, London 1952. The other objects mentioned here are new discoveries. See: R. GIVEON, *Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai*, in: Tel Aviv. *Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology I* (1974) 100–108.

of which fragments were found at the site in the hundreds. The inscriptions on these objects are fairly uniform: «To the king... the beloved of Hathor, Lady of Turquoise». By presenting the local goddess with her favourite symbols, the donor ensures his success in obtaining plenty of turquoise of the finest quality – in addition to long life, happiness and good health. On a squatting sandstone statue from the New Kingdom Hathor is seen with a similar sistrum on her head. The statue was found in her temple in Sinai (Fig. 33). The magical aspect of the sistrum and menat no doubt became confused in his mind with the musical aspect, recalling to the worshipper the music, singing and dancing on the festivals of the goddess. Such ceremonies too were likely to induce the blessing of the great goddess «The Golden One» as the Egyptians lovingly called her.

## ROYAL SEALS OF THE XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY FROM WESTERN ASIA

### *I. The seals as evidence of Egyptian rule in Canaan*

There exists considerable divergence of opinion on the question whether the kings of the XII<sup>th</sup> Egyptian Dynasty had a firm hold over parts of Western Asia, or whether the many Egyptian objects found in Syria and Palestine came there by trade, as presents or with political refugees like Sinuhet<sup>1</sup>. The two positions may best be summarized by the following quotations: «In Asia (the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) attempted no political empire by sending out armies to conquer and hold, with resident Egyptian commissioners in the conquered territory» (J. A. Wilson)<sup>2</sup>. – Against: «The Pharaohs of the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty claimed and often held the suzerainty over Palestine and Syria, extending their sphere of influence as far as Ugarit and Qatna... The imperial organisation of the Middle Empire must have been very loose in comparison with the practice of the New Empire, but the Palestine of the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was poor and thinly populated» (W. F. Albright)<sup>3</sup>.

Besides the statues, sphinxes, jewelry, stone-jars, seals of officials, etc. found in Asia<sup>4</sup>, there is another group of documents which we propose to

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<sup>1</sup> For this problem and for bibliography see G. POSENER *Cambridge Ancient History* <sup>2</sup> I, 1965 Cambridge, Chapter XXI<sup>th</sup> 18–21; W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* <sup>2</sup>, Wiesbaden 1971. 68–71.; J. v. BECKE-RATH, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*. Glückstadt 1964, 103–104 supports HELCK's view that these objects are evidence of trade relations.; S. YEIVIN *BiOr* 23 (1966) 22 opposes it.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. WILSON, *The Burden of Egypt*, Chicago 1951, 134.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15 (1935), 221.

<sup>4</sup> Add to POSENER, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 16–18 and to HELCK, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 69–70, a head of a king, early XII Dynasty found during under-water excavations in the old city of Tyre. see D. v. BOTHMER, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, New York 1961, No. 65, Pl. 20. H. G. FISHER, *The Gallatin Egyptian Collection*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25 (1967) 258, fig. 6.

discuss here: Seals with names of kings of the XIIth Dynasty. Otto <sup>1</sup> and Stock <sup>2</sup> have come to the conclusion that the great majority of these scarabs have to be dated to the Hyksos period. In their opinion the royal cartouches of the XIIth Dynasty were used by the Hyksos as reminiscences of a greater past. An extreme position is taken by Ward, in whose opinion «not a single one of the Palestinian scarabs can be dated without question to the XIIth Dynasty» <sup>3</sup>.

Scarabs have to be judged according to their style and, if possible, with reference to the archaeological context in which they have been found. Otto and Stock consider the concentric circles so common in this type of scarabs as a late development of the scroll pattern; all these scarabs belong, in their opinion, to the period following the XIIth Dynasty <sup>4</sup>. However, in Byblos, a jar («394») has been found in the «Syrian Temple» (Level IV) which contained a number of those scarabs and others which were supposed «late type». It has been shown that the jar and its content must be dated to Middle Kingdom times at the latest <sup>5</sup>. This is also proved by analysis of its stratigraphic position: the jar had been deposited beneath the floor of a Middle Kingdom Temple and moreover the temple and its surroundings were not occupied in Hyksos or Late Bronze times <sup>6</sup>.

Stock forces the evidence when he writes: «Zu Byblos enthielt eines der bekannten Gründungsgefäße zahlreiche Skarabäen mit konzentrischen Kreisen, die das Gefäß in eine jüngere Zeit, nach dem MR, zu datieren zwingen» <sup>7</sup>. This group of scarabs from Byblos cannot be ascribed to the Hyksos. If stylistic features, such as the concentric circles, are useless for dating the objects, then the scarabs bearing names of kings of the XIIth Dynasty, found in Canaan, have to be reconsidered as possible evidence for Middle Kingdom contacts with the Near East.

Not a single seal of Amenemhet I has been found in Canaan. This is in keeping with the rarity of seals of this king in general and with historical events. The greatest number of scarabs discovered in Palestine and Syria

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<sup>1</sup> H. OTTO, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 61 (1938) 251, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> H. STOCK, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens*, Glückstadt 1942.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. WARD, *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 39.

<sup>4</sup> OTTO, *op. cit.* (above, note 5) 255 ff.; STOCK, *op. cit.* (above note 5) 25–27.

<sup>5</sup> P. MONTET, *Byblos et l'Égypte, Texte*, Paris 1929, 111 ff. Atlas Plate 60–71.; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 13 (1933) 70 and 74. See also O. TUFNELL and W. A. WARD, *Syria* 43 (1966) 165.

<sup>6</sup> O. NEGBI and S. MOSKOWITZ, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. 184 (1966) 21.

<sup>7</sup> STOCK, *op. cit.* (above note 6), 27.

and listed below, § II, comes from the time of Sesostri I. Nr 3 comes from Tomb 24 at Megiddo, which was a typical shaft tomb, cut in the time of the XIIth Dynasty and re-used during the Hyksos period. Our scarab may come from the first burial in this tomb, as well as the only scarab which may be assigned (doubtfully) to Amenemhet II (Nr 16). The amethyst scarab from Beth Shean (Nr 14) comes from a Late Bronze context. Its material, however, points to a XIIth Dynasty origin. Nr 15 comes from a tomb which shows mixed contents of Hyksos and pre-Hyksos implements: this grave is also a shaft tomb, re-used in Hyksos times. There is no reason to doubt that the scarab belongs to the first use of the tomb. From Gezer comes the covering of a jar stopper with four seal impressions of Sesostri I. The fact that a royal seal has been made use of seems to indicate that the jar was stamped in that king's lifetime, on behalf of his administration. Later use of a scarab for sealing is possible, but less probable. From Ugarit comes a carnelian bead, now in the Louvre. From Ugarit also comes most probably the seal in the Chabachoff Collection (see below). Nr 5 and Nr 10 come from a Late Bronze context <sup>1</sup>.

There are many scarabs of Sesostri II, mostly of uncertain contexts. To Hyksos tombs and strata belong Nr 19, Nr 21, Nr 22, Nr 24; to the Late Bronze period: Nr 26. The Beth Shean scarab (Nr 17) comes from a much disturbed level, which belongs to the Middle Kingdom. The Lachish specimen (Nr 23) comes from a locus containing Early Bronze together with Hyksos material. Nr 27 comes from a shaft tomb containing mixed material, very much like the near-by tomb of the same type in which Nr 15 was found.

We have a single scarab, now in the British Museum, with the name of Sesostri III (Nr 29); from Tell Jemmeh comes a scarab with the names of Sesostri III and Amenemhet III together (Nr 30). It seems unlikely that a later dynasty would have commemorated the coregency of the two kings.

Amenemhet III is represented by three scarabs: one of uncertain origin (Nr 31), the second possibly from the Judean mountains (Nr 32), and the third from Tell el-Ajjul (Nr 33). There are several cylinder seals from the reign of this king: one from Tell el-Ajjul, one most probably from Ugarit

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<sup>1</sup> The stone object from Byblos (M. DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos II*, Paris 1938, 196, Pl. 158; see also TUFNELL and WARD, *op. cit.* (above, note 9), 189, note 1) does not belong to Sesostri I but to another king *Hpr - k3 - R'*, Nectanebos of the XXXth Dynasty. A late date is obvious from the style of the representation. It is confirmed by the fact that material much later than the time of the XIIth Dynasty was found in the same square in several levels below the floor on which the object was found.

(Chabachoff Collection) and one from Cyprus (Reitler Collection). From Byblos comes a bead bearing the name of the king.

There are, then, a great number of scarabs only from the time of Sesostri I and of Sesostri II; this is in contrast to what we know of the Asiatic preoccupations of Amenemhet II, Sesostri III and Amenemhet III, and to the number of other objects of these kings found in Asia. The fact could be partly explained by a possible change of conditions in the second part of the XIIth Dynasty, in which affected the distribution of scarabs more than other objects. About half of the discoveries mentioned here come from Megiddo, Gezer and Tell el-Ajjul. In these three places statues of Egyptian officials of the XIIth Dynasty have been found; the economical and strategical importance of the two first named places for Egypt is amply attested in documents from the second millenium B.C. Tell el-Ajjul was an important stronghold on what was known at the time of Sethi I as the road «from Sileh to Canaan», some 7 kilometers south-west of Gaza. Megiddo, Gezer and Gaza are not mentioned in the execration texts.

The Byblos deposit shows that stylistic features like scrolls, concentric circles or hieroglyphs used as decoration on both sides of the king's name, cannot be taken as evidence of a late, Hyksos origin of the scarabs. In fact, the number of such scarabs found in a clear Hyksos context is relatively small. It may be that these were manufactured after the time of the XIIth Dynasty, but they may equally be remains of an earlier settlement which have been re-used in Hyksos times or brought up when later inhabitants dug foundation trenches, tombs, etc., in earlier strata.

Others scarabs were found in a Late Bronze stratum; quite a number lack clear context. A group of these scarabs come from tombs or strata directly related to the time of the XIIth Dynasty. The cylinder seals from Ugarit and Cyprus (see below) are undoubtedly signs of the activity of the Pharaohs' administration in these regions.

At least part of the seals with royal names of the XIIth Dynasty can, as we have seen, be considered, together with other documents, as contemporary evidence of Egyptian rule in Canaan.

## II. Royal seals and related material from the XIIIth Dynasty found in Palestine and Syria <sup>1</sup>

### Sesostris I.

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. YMCA-collection              | R. 1.   |
| 2.                              | R. 2.   |
| 3. Megiddo                      | R. 3; <i>Megiddo Tombs</i> , Pl. 105, 13 (Tomb 24). H.  |
| 4. Tell el-Ajjul                | R. 4; AG IV, Pl. 4-5, Nr 61. H.   |
| 5. Lachish                      | R. 5; <i>Lachish IV</i> , Pl. 39, 347. H.   |
| 6. Tell el-Ajjul                | R. 6; AG II, p. 9, Pl. 8, 145. H.   |
| 7.                              | R. 7; AG IV, Pl. 6-7, 268. S.   |
| 8.                              | R. 8; AG IV, Pl. 4-5, 3. H.   |
| 9. Megiddo                      | Watzinger, <i>Tell el Mutesellim II</i> (Leipzig 1929),<br>fig. 12, 2. S.                     |
| 10.                             | <i>Megiddo II</i> , Pl. 152, 196.   |
| 11. Gezer                       | <i>Gezer III</i> , Pl. 203, B. Nr 1; <i>Gezer II</i> , p. 315. S.                             |
| 12.                             | <i>Gezer III</i> , Pl. 205, A. Nr 9. H.   |
| 13.                             | <i>Gezer III</i> , Pl. 207, 4; <i>Gezer II</i> , p. 319. H.                                   |
| 14. Beth Shean                  | A. Rowe, <i>The Topography and History of Bethshan</i> (Philadelphia, 1930), Pl. 34, Nr 1. S. |
| 15. Kafer Ġarra<br>(near Sidon) | Guigues, <i>Bull. Musée de Beyrouth</i> 2, 49,<br>fig. 72. Top row, third from the left. H.   |

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations have been used here:

AG II: W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza II* (London 1932)

AG III: W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza III* (London 1933)

AG IV: W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza IV* (London 1934)

AG V: E. J. H. MACKAY and M. MURRAY, *Ancient Gaza V* (London 1952) together with W. M. F. PETRIE, *Cities of the Shepherd Kings*.

Gezer II: R. A. S. MACALISTER, *The Excavations of Gezer II*, London 1912

Gezer III: R. A. S. MACALISTER, *The Excavations of Gezer III*, London 1912

Hall, Cat.: H. R. HALL, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum*, London 1913.

Lachish IV: O. TUFNELL, *Lachish IV*, Oxford 1958

Megiddo II: G. LOUD, *Megiddo II*, Chicago 1948.

Megiddo Tombs: P. L. O. GUY, R. M. ENGBERG, *Megiddo Tombs*, Chicago 1938.

NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*: P. E. NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, London 1906.

R.: A. ROWE, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archeological Museum, Le Caire 1936*. Scarabs appearing in R. are listed first in each section. Seals which have «Amenemhat» only have been neglected here. Decoration of the scarabs is indicated by «S» for scrolls, «C» for concentric circles, «H» for hieroglyphic signs, mainly decorative, on both sides of the king's name. The others have the name of the king only.

# Miscellaneous:

Gezer: Four impressions on sealing covering a jar stopper. Gezer III, Pl. 209, 73; p. 330. S.

Ugarit: Bead, carnelian (this is mentioned in: C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I (Paris 1939), p. 20, and published in *Ugaritica* IV, p. 214-5) <sup>1</sup>.

Ugarit (most probably): cylinder-seal in the Chabachoff-Collection (see below).

## Amenemhet II.

16. Megiddo R. 9; *Megiddo Tombs*, p. 48, Pl. 106, 7. H.  
The attribution to this king is not sure <sup>2</sup>.

## Sesostris II.

17. Beth Shean R. 10. H.  
18. Tell el-Ajjul R. 11; AG IV, Pl. 8-9, 365. H.  
19. Megiddo R. 12; *Megiddo Tombs*, Pl. 116, 8. H.  
20. Tell el-Ajjul R. 13; AG IV, Pl. 10-11, 465. H.  
21. AG V, Pl. 9, 1; p. 7. S.  
22. Megiddo *Megiddo* II, Pl. 150, 109. H.  
23. Lachish *Lachish* IV, Pl. 30, 31, 63; p. 115. H.  
24. Jericho K. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho* II (London 1965), p. 584, fig. 296, 4. S.  
25. Accho (Fig. 34a-c) Surface find from Tell el Fukhkhar, the site of ancient Accho. This seal, now at the Municipal Museum, Accho, is 2 cm long, 1.5 cm wide and 0.8 cm high. Is is made of white steatite, the head stylized, elytra not shown; two notches indicate the division of the protothorax from the body, legs are indicated as a double line. C.  
26. Amman (Jordan) W. A. Ward, *Cylinders and Scarabs from a Late Bronze Temple at 'Amman*. *Annual Dep. Ant. Jord.* 8-9, 52, Pl. 22. H.  
27. Kafer Ġarra Guiges, *Bull. Musée de Beyrouth* 2, 58, fig. 84 (centre, inverted). H.  
28. Shechem S. H. Horn, *JNES* 21 (1962) 8, Pl. 1, 20; fig. 2, 20. S.

<sup>1</sup> For a very similar carnelian bead of this king see W. M. F. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London 1917, Plate 12, No. 35.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, London 1925, Plate 10, 483.



*Sesostris III.*

29. Gezer Hall, *Cat.*, p. 302 (Nr 2871). S.  
*Co-regency of Sesostris III and Amenemhet III.*  
30. Tell Jemmeh W.M.F. Petrie, *Gerar* (London 1928), Pl. 19, 2<sup>1</sup>.

*Amenemhet III.*

31. YMCA-Collection  
(Jerusalem) R. 14. H.  
32. Beit Jimal R., p. 4 (note to Nr 14)<sup>2</sup>.  
33. Tell el-Ajjul AG II, Pl. 8, 123. H.

Miscellaneous:

Byblos: Bead, white paste. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, p. 185, Pl. 127, Nr 2905.

Tell el-Ajjul: Cylinder seal (four cylinders united for use as a bead). R. S. 3; AG IV, Pl. 9, Nr 352.

Ugarit (most probably): Cylinder seal. Collection Chabachoff (see below).

Cyprus: Cylinder seal. Reitler-Collection (see below).

*III. New cylinder seals of the XIIth Dynasty from Western Asia*<sup>3</sup>

*A. Sesostris I.* Collection B. Chabachoff, Paris (Fig. 35a-b).

This seal measures 2 cm in height, 0.9 in diameter. It has, like all the cylinders listed here, a small perforation. The object, in excellent condition, is made of light brown jasper, mottled with black. It is inscribed with the prenomen of Sesostris I: *Hpr-k3-R'*. This seal was bought in Latakia (Syria); it was brought there to a dealer and said to come from near-by Ras Shamra. There is no reason to doubt this, especially in view of other Middle Kingdom finds in Ugarit. Cylinder seals bearing a single cartouche as sole decoration are not uncommon during the XIIth Dynasty<sup>4</sup>. The craftsman failed

<sup>1</sup> Other Scarabs of the co-regency are in the British Museum (HALL, *Cat.* p. 267. Nrs. 2622 and 2623); an additional one is shown in NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, Pl. 6, 15.

<sup>2</sup> According to a letter (9.6.1966) from the Scuola Agr. Salesiana, Beit Jimal, this seal has disappeared from the collection. A Seal from Tell Jemmeh (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Gerar*, London 1928, Plate 17, 18 and page 20) has been ascribed by W. A. WARD *Orientalia* 30 (1961) 41, to this king. However it has lost its face and is attributed by PETRIE, according to the shape of its back, to the time of Amenophis III.

<sup>3</sup> MR. CHABACHOFF and MRS. R. REITLER have been kind enough to allow the publication of these seals in their possession.

<sup>4</sup> HALL, *Cat.* p. 265, No. 2606; p. 266, Nos. 2614-16.; p. 267, Nos. 2620 and 2621; p. 269, Nos. 2633 and 2634; H. H. VON DER OSTEN, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*.

to use the total surface of the seal with the inscription, which is in contradiction to the basic idea of the cylinder seal and shows that he had taken a scarab as a model; it is secondary in its use on a cylinder.

B. *Amenemhet III*. Collection B. Chabachoff, Paris (Fig. 36a-b).

The lower part of this seal is missing. Its actual height is 2.5 cm. The diameter is 0.8 cm. It is made of white paste. The seal was bought in Latakia, as coming from Ras Shamra, together with the above described seal. It is adorned with two vertical cartouches both bearing the prenomen of Amenemhet III, *Ny-M's't-R'*. Above the two cartouches are inscribed epithets of the king, so that the whole reads: *Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Ny-Maat-Re, Son of Re, Ny-Maat-Re*. A cylinder seal of the Fraser Collection bears the same cartouches and epithets, except that «Son of Re» is followed there by «of his body»<sup>1</sup>. A bead from Kahun, in the same collection, has the cartouche twice<sup>2</sup>. Seals with double cartouches of Amenemhet III are in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> and in Cairo<sup>4</sup>. Also in the British Museum there is a cylinder with the prenomen of Sesostri II repeated<sup>5</sup>.

C. *Amenemhet III*. Collection of the late Dr R. Reitler, Haifa (Fig. 37).

The lower part of this steatite cylinder seal is missing; in its present state it measures 2.7 cm in height by 1 cm in diameter. The object was bought in Cyprus. It has two cartouches inscribed with the prenomen and nomen of Amenemhet III. Above the cartouches there are epithets of the king, so that the whole inscription reads: *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ny-[Maat]-Re, Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Amen[emhat]*. Before the two cartouches the *äd* sign, symbol of stability, has been engraved. Prenomen and nomen of Amenemhet III appear together on a number of cylinder seals<sup>6</sup>. One seal has a cartouche inscribed with *'Imny* between the two other cartouches, *Ny-Maat-Re* and *Amenemhet*<sup>7</sup>.

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Chicago - 1934 Plate 35, 634. G. GRIMM, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. 92 (1965) 74-5.

<sup>1</sup> G. FRASER, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs belonging to G. Fraser*. London 1900 5, No. 35.

<sup>2</sup> FRAZER, *op. cit.* (foregoing note) 5, No. 37.

<sup>3</sup> HALL, *Cat.* 267, No. 2624.


<sup>4</sup> P. E. NEWBERRY, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*. London 1907. Plate 6, 15.

<sup>5</sup> HALL, *Cat.* 266, No. 2613.

<sup>6</sup> HALL, *Cat.* 269, Nos. 2631 and 2637; W. M. F. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, Plate 14, 9.

<sup>7</sup> NEWBERRY, *Scarabs* Plate 6, 19. On the shortened form *Ameny* for *Amenemhat* see: G. POSENER, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, Paris 1956.

## PHARAO KILLING ORYX AND RHINOCEROS


1. This little scarab (Fig. 38a-c) was bought at an antiquities dealer in Jerusalem in 1975. The surface is divided into two parts: the right and middle picture a scene, the left bears an inscription. The scene shows the king, wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, swinging a mace in his left hand and holding an oryx in his right. Behind him there appears the hieroglyph  *sk* «to destroy», describing what the king is doing. We have here the ritual killing of the oryx. The style of our scarab is, without doubt, Hyksos. The ritual of the sacrifice of the oryx has been monographically dealt with by Derchain. The oldest example of a representation of the ritual quoted there comes from the time of Amenhotep III of the XVIIIth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>. It may be that there exists an Old Kingdom example of the scene, from the tomb of Pepi II; but the scene, as illustrated by Jequier<sup>2</sup>, is mainly reconstructed and we can not be sure that it is correct. Another representation of the scene of the ritual killing of the oryx is mentioned by Hayes, concerning a monument of Sesostris I of the XIIth Dynasty<sup>3</sup>. Our scarab comes chronologically between this and the scene at Luxor from the time of Amenhotep III, quoted by Derchain. The oryx was in ancient Egypt an animal associated with the god Seth. However, in the oldest texts this association does not exist yet: and it may be that the connection was elaborated only at a very late period of Egyptian religious history. In any case, a Hyksos scarab with the motif of killing the oryx can not be a piece of anti-Sethonian propaganda: Seth was too important a god at the period for such a scene to have been intended against him. A ritual connected with hunting must have been at the beginning of the motif, known from texts already from the Pyramids.

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<sup>1</sup> Ph. DERCHAIN, *Rites Egyptiens. I Le sacrifice de l'oryx*. Bruxelles 1962 12.

<sup>2</sup> G. JEQUIER, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Tome II: Le Temple*, Le Caire 1938, 32, fig. 41.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt I*, New York 1953, 188.

On the right of the scene, at right angles to it, there is a group of signs:  *ḥt mḥw* «Foremost of the Northland». This is a title of the kings of the Hyksos period, until now unknown, though titles beginning with *ḥt*, «foremost», followed by a geographical term are known: *ḥt šm'w* «foremost of the South»<sup>1</sup> and *ḥt Nḥn* «Foremost of Hieraconpolis»<sup>2</sup>.

2. In the spring of 1976 there was found on the surface of Tell Taanach a scarab (Fig. 39) It is 1.6 cm long, 1.3 cm wide and 0.7 cm high. It is made of grey steatite. The head is well separated from the clypeus; the prothorax and elytra are indicated by single lines. The forepart of the elytra has triangles and the legs are well indicated and deeply cut.

The face of the seal shows a king shooting animals. The king wears the blue crown, decorated with an uraeus. He is clad in a short garment. The king is holding bow and arrow shoulder high, the arm which draws the bow is indicated much too low.

Two animals are shown before the king: a rhinoceros in the upper middle field and an oryx in the lower middle. The rhinoceros has one long horn on the forepart of his nose; an ear is indicated and the head is rectangular. The oryx is shown falling to the ground, legs bent. A large Nefer-sign is at the right. The seal can be dated, according to style, to the New Kingdom.

There is one king of that period who boasts of killing a rhinoceros: Thutmosis III. On the pylon of the temple at Arment (in Upper Egypt) there is a picture of a rhinoceros with measures<sup>3</sup>. On a stela, also found at Arment<sup>4</sup> the hunt is described as an incident in a Nubian campaign – in fact the only incident in this particular campaign in southern Nubia he found worth mentioning.

This is the only occurrence of the word *šqb*, the word for rhinoceros. Edel has shown that the word *irb*, which the Wörterbuch<sup>5</sup> translates as «Tier (Nashorn?)», does not exist<sup>6</sup>.

The scarab found at Tell Taanach is a minor memorial scarab of Thutmosis III: it refers to the great deed of the king in Nubia.

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<sup>1</sup> A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache III, Berlin 1971, 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> J. VANDIER, Mo'alla, Le Caire 1950, 270. For the seal, see also: R. GIVEON, New Egyptian Seals with Titles and Names from Canaan, in: Tel Aviv 3, 1976.

<sup>3</sup> W. HELCK, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Heft 17, Berlin 1955, 1248.

<sup>4</sup> HELCK, op. cit., 1246.

<sup>5</sup> A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I, Berlin 1971, 115, 4.

<sup>6</sup> E. EDEL, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse 1963. Zu den Inschriften der «Weltkammer» aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niussere, 129–130.

The oryx shown as being hunted on the same scarab may not refer to another mere hunting incident, but have also a religious meaning. However, there is here an important iconographic change: unlike the Oryx-scarab described above, Thutmose III is shooting the animal: there is hunting here, not sacrificing. It seems, therefore, likely that Thutmose is destroying the animal of Seth in the tradition of fighting Seth, which became strong after the fall of the Hyksos.

In fact, oryx and hippopotamus are both Seth-animals. Could it be that we have here, by mistake, an animal which resembles a rhinoceros but should be interpreted, because of its association with the oryx, as another Seth-animal – the hippopotamus? There is, in fact, at least one example of such a mixing of the two animals, and it comes also from Canaan (Fig. 40), this time from the south, from Tell el Far'ah<sup>1</sup>. The animal depicted on this Late-Bronze period scarab fills the upper part of the face of the seal. The rest is taken by a winged and bearded god. The god wears a cap from which two horns protrude, streamers descend from the cap to the shoulders. There are tassels on his girdle and on the lower seam of his garment<sup>2</sup>. Before this god stands the horus-falcon with his flail. Starkey and Harding defined the god depicted as «Resheph or Seth»<sup>3</sup>. The animal depicted here has a small horn on its nose, a triangular growth near the ear and a large ear. However, its pouchy head resembles more a hippopotamus than a rhinoceros. The little horn on the nose should perhaps be judged as a mistake of the artist, the second bulge may be the eye, always protruding on hippopotami, rhinoceros and crocodiles. The animal on this seal is not hunted; its relation to a god – Seth or a Canaanite god near to Seth – points to a strong mythological bond, which exists between Seth and the hippopotamus, but not with the rhinoceros.

There is a strong reason not to see in the Taanach seal a hippopotamus, even a wrongly drawn one: the king is shown in association with the animal, not a god. He is shooting the rhinoceros with bow and arrow; the hippopotamus was hunted in ancient Egypt with harpoon and lance. The arrow is fit for an animal of the steppe, as the rhinoceros is: in the Arment

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<sup>1</sup> J. L. STARKEY, L. HARDING *Beth-Pelet II*, London 1932, Plate 55, 299.

<sup>2</sup> For the tassels and their significance, see: R. GIVEON, *Les Bedouins Shosou des Documents Egyptiens*, Leiden 1971, 241–251. The scarab from Tell el Far'ah is mentioned on page 251. It will be republished with a photograph in my «*Egyptian Seals in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities*» (in the Series: *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum*).

<sup>3</sup> STARKEY, HARDING, *op. cit.* 25.

stela Thutmosis tells us expressly that it was with the arrow that he caught his rhinoceros.

### *Additional Note*

Behind the king in scarab 1 there is, in a shortened form, the verbal description of the king's action. This spelling out of what is shown in a scene appears in a similar manner on another Hyksos scarab, also found in Canaan (Fig. 41). It is a steatite scarab, 2.3 cm to 1.6 cm, in the Dayan Collection. It shows a lion holding in his left forepaw a snake-like object, on which he is standing with his other three legs. The outstretched forepaw, together with the rounded part of the «snake», form also the hieroglyph for «hoe» and «hack up». If this interpretation as a hoe was intended or not, it is clear that the lion – the king – is victorious over an enemy. Over his back we have the word  $\text{ḥwꜥy}$ , «to smite», «to strike». It is the short form, known from Pyramid Texts, which is employed here<sup>1</sup>. This scarab is very well made: it has a rope-border, decorated with two flowers and a spiral-border inside this, with four spirals on top and four on the bottom; within this frame, behind the lion, there is a scarab-beetle with only four legs and drawn with its head down. It seems that the scene on the scarab, the killing of an enemy or a dangerous animal, was more efficient in its magic if the idea behind it was expressed twice once in a scene illustrating the magic or ritual act, and once in spelling it out in one short expression. We should therefore not interpret these cases as cryptograms or phonetic complements.

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<sup>1</sup> A. ERMAN, H. GRAPOW, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache III, Berlin<sup>2</sup> 1971 46.

## THE SCARABS FROM GINNOSAR

On the north bank of Nahal Zalmon, near Ghuweir Abu Shusa, not far from modern Ginnosar (on the west shore of Lake Tiberias) a group of Middle Bronze Tombs were discovered in 1956. Tomb II, in which scarabs were found belongs to the end of the Middle Bronze II B period, the time of the Hyksos. Some other scarabs were found in the debris before excavation and seem to belong to the same period.

In the group of scarabs described here (Fig. 42 and 43)<sup>1</sup> many of the motifs are common for the period of the Hyksos, such as figures in Canaanite dress (7, 8), groups of meaningless Egyptian hieroglyphs (1-4, 12), or individual hieroglyphs combined with decorative elements such as spirals (11). Even though scarabs nos. 7-12 were found in the rubble before the excavation proper, there are no significant differences between these and those found in the tombs.

1. No. 685 (tomb no. 2). Steatite.

In the centre appears the sign *nfr* (beauty, happiness). The sign is enclosed within a frame of four spirals which do not join up. They face the frame of the scarab. In the space thus created, the sign *s3* (protection) appears four times.

2. No. 275 (tomb no. 2). Steatite.

The central motif is an uraeus. On its head the crown of Lower Egypt. Beneath it Horus stands on the sign *nb* (master). In front of Horus is a column of signs: *hṯp*, *r'*, *w3d* (peace, Re [the sun-god], fresh). The name of the god Re is written alphabetically. The group of signs is not to be interpreted as being the name of a king. Behind the uraeus the signs: *dī* (give) and *nfr* (beauty, happiness). This combination has no mean-

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<sup>1</sup> The tombs and their other contents are discussed by Claire Fpstein, 'Atiqot, (Hebrew Series) 7(1974), 20-39.

ing, intended was probably: *dl'nh*, «to whom life is given», a common formula following upon the names of kings <sup>1</sup>.

3. No. 393 (tomb no. 2). Steatite.

The upper part shows the goddess Nekhbet in the form of a vulture, its wings outspread and its legs wide apart. In the centre appears the sign *s*<sup>3</sup> (protection) and flanking it two uraei wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. Crowns and other symbols of Lower Egypt are especially common with Hyksos scarabs. Between the uraei appears a sign shaped like a horizontal figure of eight. The lower part bears the sign *h'* (shining) <sup>2</sup>.

4. No. 534 (tomb no. 2). Steatite.

The signs *n r'* frequently appear as a group on Hyksos scarabs <sup>3</sup>. This meaningless combination is called the «*nr'*» Group»; our combination here belongs to this type of pseudo-inscriptions.

5. No. 2239 (tomb no. 2). Amethyst. Copper Ring.

The diameter of the ring is 20 mm. The face of the scarab is undecorated. Amethysts were frequently used at the time of the Middle Kingdom, though amethyst scarabs dating from the Hyksos period are known <sup>4</sup>.

6. No. 2239 (tomb no. 2). Amethyst. Remains of a metal thread inside the bore.

The face of the scarab is undecorated.

7. No. 2240 (Found in the rubble, before the excavation). Steatite, remains of white glaze. Remains of the ring inside the bore.

The figure is of a man dressed in a long garment, who stands on a low footstool <sup>5</sup>. The hair is indicated by horizontal lines and reaches the nape of his neck. He holds a flower in his right hand, his left arm is held parallel to his body; the palms of the hands are not marked. The signs in front of him and behind him are not clear: perhaps the common form of the Hyksos period for the scroll sign (abstract), an egg (the sign for the word son), a flower (?) and the letter *n* (?).

<sup>1</sup> For a similar group of signs, see: A. ROWE, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Cairo 1936, Pl. 6, 216.

<sup>2</sup> P. E. NEWBERRY, Scarabs, London 1908, Pl. 24, 13

<sup>3</sup> M. A. MURRAY, Some Canaanite Scarabs, PEQ 81 (1949) 92-99.

<sup>4</sup> J. LEIBOVITCH, 'Atiqot 1 (1955) 15, fig. 6, 24.

<sup>5</sup> H. SCHÄFER, Eine nordsyrische Kultsitte, ZÄS 73 (1937) 54.



8. No. 2241. (Found in the rubble, before the excavation). Steatite, remains of white glaze.

The figure is of a man kneeling, and holding a flower in his left hand, his right arm is held parallel to his body. Above his head and by his shoulder are two signs for 'Ankh (life), with an additional 'Ankh sign between the legs. Above the left leg are two unclear signs, they may be the signs ' and *nb* (master). Below the right leg is a sign which recalls the sign ' <sup>1</sup>.

9. No. 2242 (Found in the rubble, before the excavation). Steatite, remains of yellow glaze.

On the long axis appear two signs which recall the sign *sm3* (to unite). On both sides are spiral lines, possibly indicating plants attached to the sign *sm3*, which indicates the union of Upper and Lower Egypt <sup>2</sup>.

10. No. 2243 (Found in the rubble, before the excavation). Steatite, remains of white glaze.

The sign *s3* (protection) appears between two segments of circles. There are double lines between the circle segments and the frame on the face of the scarab. This pattern at the sides of the scarab, with generally five or six lines appearing on it, is common for the period of the Hyksos <sup>3</sup>.

11. No. 2244 (Found in the rubble, before the excavation). Steatite. Remains of white glaze.

The sign *nfr* (beauty) appears inside a frame consisting of six continuous but unconnected loops <sup>4</sup>.

12. No. 2245 (Found in the rubble, before the excavation). Steatite, remains of glaze.

This scarab belongs to the large group of Hyksos scarabs on which the sign *nbw* (gold) appears in the centre. On our scarab, the sign *nbw* is placed above the other signs. Underneath it appears *dd* (stability), the lower part of which is unusual. To both sides of this sign appear: '*nh* (life) and *nfr* (beauty).

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<sup>1</sup> ROWE, op. cit. Pl. 3, 94; Pl. 7, 282. G. BRUNTON, R. ENGELBACH, GUROB, London 1927. Pl. 21, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ROWE, op. cit. Pl. 2, 73.

<sup>3</sup> ROWE, op. cit. Pl. 10, 410. P. E. NEWBERRY, Scarab-shaped Seals (Cat. Gén. Caire), London 1907, Pl. 16, 36856.

<sup>4</sup> ROWE, op. cit. Pl. 3, 124, 125, 130. Pl. 4, 134. — NEWBERRY, op. cit. (above, n. 3) Pl. 20, 34. — W. M. F. PETRIE, Ancient Gaza III, London 1933, Pl. 4, 159.

## A PLAQUE FROM TELL NAGILA

The object in the collection of antiquities of Kibbutz Ruhamah is made of steatite; its length is 3 cm, width 1.5 cm and height 0.7 cm. A hole is bored lengthwise, which shows that the plaque served as a link in a necklace. This is also shown by the fact that, unlike ordinary seals, it is decorated on both sides; so that it is not really a seal at all, but rather an ornament or, at most, an amulet. The plaque is flat, the «string of pearls» which decorates its narrow side is a reminder of the legs of the beetle which appear on scarab-seals of this type.

The decorations which appear on both of the flat sides are of the usual kind, except that this appears to be the only instance where they are found on *one* «scarab». One side shows a geometrical design: a cross consisting of two parallel lines, with semi-circles on the four sides – to the right and left is a double «crescent» at the top and bottom a triple one (Fig. 44a). Decorative motifs of this type occasionally appear on scarabs along with some letter or sign. The most common letter in such cases is the sign *nfr* meaning «beauty», «happiness». One may therefore assume that also in instances where only the decoration appears on the scarab and the letter is missing, it still expresses the idea of beauty. Additional examples of the decoration we find here were discovered at Tell el-'Ajjul <sup>1</sup>, at Tell el-Far'ah (in the course of Petrie's excavations) <sup>2</sup>, at Jericho (Garstang's excavation) <sup>3</sup> and in Lachish. The scarab from Lachish was found many years ago by Starkey; it is listed in the catalogue at the Rockefeller Museum <sup>4</sup>. The report on the excavation of the tomb, inside of which it was found in Lachish, was only published in 1958. From the other finds in that tomb we may

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<sup>1</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza III*, London 1933, Pl. 3.42.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Beth Pelet I* London 1930, Pl. 10, 87.

<sup>3</sup> A. ROWE, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archeological Museum*. Le Caire 1936, 101; Pl. 10, No. 417.

<sup>4</sup> A. ROWE, *op. cit.*, 101, Pl. 10, No. 414.

conclude that it belongs to the period of the Hyksos. As regards the other above mentioned sites, the archeologists concerned also ascribe the date of the tombs to that of the Hyksos or as belonging to Middle Bronze B.

The other side of the scarab shows a human figure (a king?) walking, one hand lifted up as if about to strike. In Egypt this is common pose in the portrayal of conquering kings since very early times. The other hand holds a sceptre, called a *w3s* in Egyptian. It is shaped like a stick, ending in a stylised animal head with a long nose and ears. The figure is flanked by plants, possibly palm branches, one of which is attached to the scepter. At first sight, it looks as though the figure wears short trousers; however, the parallel lines above the knees indicate the hem of a wide, almost transparent coat (Fig. 44b). The style of the drawing – its simplicity, vitality of movement and the pleasing «organization» of the space all these are characteristic of the Hyksos period. On the one hand, it incorporates Egyptian forms and content (portrayal of the figure in profile and the sceptre); while on the other, the difference which exists between the Hyksos and the original Egyptian culture makes itself felt. This intermediate style is of great importance in the development of independent elements in the art of the Land of Israel.

## PTAH AND ASTARTE ON A SEAL FROM ACCHO

I. A black stone seal was found recently on the surface of Tel el Fukhkhar (ancient Accho), east of the modern city of Acre. It is 2.1 cm long, 1.7 cm wide and 1.1 cm high. The back of the oblong seal has the form of a negro head (Fig. 45a-b); its face shows a mythological scene (Fig. 46a-b). \*

Negro-head seals are known from Egypt and Palestine. They may have developed from the human-headed heart scarabs of the Middle-Kingdom <sup>1</sup>. Junker <sup>2</sup> has pointed out that the Punt expeditions of Queen Hatshepsut created the first close contacts of the Egyptians with negro-populations; the curiosity thus awakened found its expression, amongst other things, in the creation of the negro-head seals, for which purpose black stone was an especially fitting material.

A Middle Kingdom scaraboid <sup>3</sup> may be an exception as far as the date concerned, but here, as in other cases, there may be doubt whether the human head depicted is intended to be a negro. Other Egyptian examples come from the XVIIIth Dynasty <sup>4</sup>, from the Ramesside period <sup>5</sup>, from the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties <sup>6</sup>.

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\* I wish to thank Mr. M. Megiddon for his kind permission to publish this seal which was in his possession. The seal is now in the Wilfrid Israel Museum, Hazorea, Israel.

<sup>1</sup> H. R. HALL, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc.*,... London 1913 p. xiv. (henceforth: HALL, Cat.).

<sup>2</sup> H. JUNKER, *The First Appearance of the Negroes in History*, JEA 7 (1921) 121-132.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London 1917, Pl. xvi. N.

<sup>4</sup> W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Button and Design Scarabs*, London 1925, Pl. xxix R 47.

<sup>5</sup> HALL, Cat. p. 121 (1238, 1239, 1240, 1241) p. 189 (1884).

<sup>6</sup> HALL, Cat. p. 254 (2535); W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *op. cit.* (above, note 4) Pl. ix 302-305; Pl. xv, 1009.

A few negro-head seals have turned up in excavations at Palestinian sites:

1. From the Iron-Age site of Tell en Naşbeh (Mizpah?) comes a scaraboid<sup>1</sup> which resembles in style and material (green fayence) No. 1240 in Hall's catalogue. The base of this seal is very crudely carved. It has some signs, which can not be made out, and a quadruped. McCown makes the interesting suggestion that this seal may have been brought as a blank from Egypt and the design added in Palestine. We shall return to this possibility when discussing the Accho seal.

2. Azor. The face of this seal shows «a prancing horse being led on a rope by a man. Above is a winged jackal-headed griffon»<sup>2</sup>. This seal was found out of context in the cemetery. It could therefore belong to any of the graves, ranging in time from the XIIth to the IXth Century.

3. Tell Qasile. On the face of this seal «figures of animals are engraved»<sup>3</sup>. The seal comes from a public building in stratum VIII (IXth Century B.C.).

4. Tell Abu Hawam<sup>4</sup>. It is not sure whether this represents a negro. The face of this seal shows an ibex, its head turned back. This seal comes from Stratum V, which has to be dated 1300–1180<sup>5</sup>.

II. All four seals from Palestine can be dated to the Iron-Age. As far as can be made out, all of them have animal motifs; only the piece from Azor may have mythological implications. A seal bought in Beirut, now at the Louvre<sup>6</sup>, made of green fayence, shows on its face a human being and the Egyptian hieroglyph «nefer». It seems to belong to the same period. Equally from Beirut comes a seal now at the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) (Fig. 47a–b)<sup>7</sup>. It shows a running antelope, turning its head towards a pursuing man. What seems to be a lotus-flower appears in front of the animal, a branch below it. At Zagazig, near ancient Bubastis in the Eastern Delta, Petrie bought a negro-headed seal. On its face there is a man, standing on an antelope; he turns towards two other animals, shown one on top of the

<sup>1</sup> C. C. McCOWN, *Tell en Naşbeh I*, Berkeley – New Haven 1947, p. 149. Pl. 54, 53.

<sup>2</sup> M. DOTHAN, *Excavations at Azor 1960*, IEJ 11 (1961) 174. Pl. 35, 7.

<sup>3</sup> B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *The Excavations at Tell Qasile*, IEJ 1 (1950–1951) 206. Pl. 35, D.

<sup>4</sup> R. W. HAMILTON, *Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam*, QDAP 4 (1935) 63.

<sup>5</sup> B. MAISLER (MAZAR) *BASOR* 124 (1951) 21.

<sup>6</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres II*. Paris 1923 Pl. 104, 15 («A. 1125»).

<sup>7</sup> D. G. HOGARTH, *Hittite Seals*. Oxford 1920. No. 292 published by kind permission of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

other. The upper one seems to be lion, the a lower perhaps a small horse<sup>1</sup>. At Byblos Dunand found a scarab with an identical scene<sup>2</sup>. He suggests that the figure on the antelope represents Hadad.

The face of the Accho seal shows in its centre Ptah in his typical attitude and dress, holding the uas-sceptre in front of him<sup>3</sup>. He is standing on a sort of pedestal, which is somewhat similar to the body of water or the hills on which stands «Baal of the lightning» on the stela from Ugarit, now at the Louvre<sup>4</sup>. Facing Ptah stands a female figure with wings. The upper part of her dress is indistinct. She wears a long tight skirt with a net-pattern; she has long hair. In her left hand she holds what seems to be a bowl, her right hand is stretched out towards an offering stand which is placed between her and Ptah. This female figure represents Astarte. In the Amherst Papyrus Astarte appears as the daughter of Ptah<sup>5</sup>. Ptah and Astarte are shown together on a stela from Memphis (now in the collection of University College, London) from the time of Merneptah<sup>6</sup>.

Behind Astarte there appears an ibis and a quadruped, most likely intended to be a ram. Between the animal and the bird there is a round sign like the Egyptian hieroglyph for the sun. The group may be interpreted as symbolizing three different gods: Thot (the ibis), Rê (the sun) and Amūn (the ram)<sup>7</sup>. The sun may have been meant to be attached to the head of the ram, to represent Amūn-Rê. For an exemple of this, see a Ramesside scarab from Tell-el-Far'ah<sup>8</sup>. However, the interpretation of the group behind Astarte as a triad of gods is not likely to be the correct

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<sup>1</sup> W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Hyksos and the Israelite Cities*, London 1906, Pl. xxxiii, 67.

<sup>2</sup> M. DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, Paris 1954, p. 194 Pl. CC No. 8474.

<sup>3</sup> Ptah appears frequently on scarabs in Palestine, as do other Egyptian gods. There is no evidence of his being assimilated to any Canaanite belief, except in the case of a seal found at Lachish (O. TUFNELL, *Lachish IV*, London 1957, Pl. XXXVIII, 295), where there is a Canaanite inscription next a representation of Ptah. Albright suggests to read «(El), Lord of the wine-press». (F. M. CROSS Jr., *Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962) p. 239). CROSS (loc. cit., note 66) adduces Mandaean Ptahil for a possible identification or association of Ptah with El.

<sup>4</sup> C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica II*, Paris 1949, Pl. XXIII & XXIV.

<sup>5</sup> A. H. GARDINER in «Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith», London 1932, p. 79; J. A. WILSON in *ANET* p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Memphis I*, London 1909, Pl. XV, 37. On this and on Astarte in Egyptian art in general see J. LECLANT, *Astarte à cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes*, Syria 37 (1960) 1-67.

<sup>7</sup> For Amun as ram see: H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, s. v. Widder, p. 869.

<sup>8</sup> W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Beth-Pelet (Tell Fara) II*, London 1932, Pl. LVI; LVII, No. 383.

one. These three important gods would hardly occupy so restricted a space as compared with the other three figures. Why should the ram-god walk away from the main group? It seems more likely that the two animals behind Astarte show her character as Πότνια Θερῶν, the Mistress of Animals<sup>1</sup>. The sun-sign appears frequently in glyptic art as a purely decorative motif near animals<sup>2</sup>.

Behind Ptah there is a male figure, dressed with a short tasseled kilt. The head is fairly indistinct. It seems that he is wearing a conical head-dress and that he is beardless. In his left he is holding a quiver from the top of which some arrows project. In his right he may have been holding a weapon (a bow?), which can not be made out any more. No doubt a divine figure is depicted here. Baal, Seth and Resheph appear in Egyptian and Canaanite iconography with a tasseled kilt, from the time of Amenophis III to the XXth Dynasty. It is Seth who is mentioned in the Amherst Papyrus as the consort of Astarte<sup>3</sup>. Seth appears with this sort of kilt in the famous «400-year stela»<sup>4</sup> and on a stela showing him killing Apophis<sup>5</sup>. Baal seems to be shown in such a representation: in a relief at Medinet Habu, from the time of Ramses III<sup>6</sup>. The tendency of the Egyptians at the time of the New Kingdom to identify Baal and Seth in writing and representation makes it frequently difficult to decide which god is intended in a specific context. A lotus flower with a long stalk behind Seth serves as a decorative end-piece for the scene.

The scene can thus be described as depicting Ptah adored and served by the divine couple Astarte (as Mistress of Animals) and Seth (as a warrior). The origin of the seal is Egyptian; the high quality of the carving of the Negro head leaves no doubt of that. However, the execution of the face of the seal is of markedly lower quality. This, together with the fact that

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<sup>1</sup> J. LECLANT, op. cit. (above, note 16), Pl. I b: a seal bought at Beirut. It seems, that Astarte, winged, is depicted in this function on a badly worn seal from Megiddo (G. LOUD, *Megiddo II*, Chicago 1948, Pl. 161). According to its findspot it could belong to the Late Bronze or Iron-Age occupation of the site. A seal from Tell Ajjul shows a goddess on a lion, facing an ibis. (W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza, III*, London 1934, Pl. III, No. 89). Many Palestinian seals show winged figures; but it is not always sure that goddesses, are intended. A winged goddess with animals appears on the seal of Sauššatar of Mitanni, c. 1450 B. C. (H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, Pl. XLII a.).

<sup>2</sup> J. LECLANT, op. cit. (above, note 16), Pl. I b. and his remarks on this.

<sup>3</sup> See above, note 15.

<sup>4</sup> P. MONTET, *Kemi* 1933 197.

<sup>5</sup> O. KOEFELD-PETERSEN, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, Copenhagen 1948, Pl. 43.

<sup>6</sup> The Epigraphic Survey. Medinet Habu, Chicago 1930, Pl. 25 a.

Astarte appears in an un-Egyptian aspect (as Mistress of Animals and not as a fighting goddess), and Seth with a typical Asiatic garment, could give rise to the thought that a blank seal was sent from Egypt, as was possibly the case with the Tell en-Naṣbeh seal (see above, p. 89). However, the association with Ptah makes this unlikely. For Ptah is represented here in a purely Egyptian fashion; and in fact, he rarely entered Canaanite religious iconography as did other Egyptian deities and religious motives <sup>1</sup>.

III. The origin of the seal found in the Canaanite harbour-town of Accho has to be looked for in another harbour-town: Memphis, or to be exact, at *Prw-Nfr*, its dockyard. Though Astarte is first mentioned in a Coffin Text from El Bersheh (Middle Kingdom times), as the consort of Rê <sup>2</sup>, her cult is first attested at *Prw-Nfr*, from the time of Amenophis II onward <sup>3</sup>. It was installed probably with the aid of Canaanite sailors, shipbuilders and merchants. At Memphis there was a temple of Astarte. The vicinity of this to the temple of Ptah gave rise to the conception of Ptah and Astarte as father and daughter.

Some of the subjects of our seal are fairly restricted as to the time of their appearance and thus indicate a possible date for its manufacture.

Negroid seals occur mainly in the time of the XVIIIth to XXth Dynasties, with a survival in the latest dynasties of Egypt. Tasseled kilts appear first in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, are especially frequent in the XIXth Dynasty and disappear after Ramses III. Seth and Astarte as gods flourish from the time of Amenophis II to the early XXth Dynasty. Because of its style and mixed Canaanite-Egyptian content the seal is not likely to come from the late period of Egyptian history: it is too unconventional to present a revival. A date at the time of Ramses II or slightly later seems thus indicated. The excellence of the carving of the miniature head compares well with some outstanding pieces of Ramesside sculpture.

Accho has interested the Egyptians already at the time of the execration

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<sup>1</sup> For a possible exception see above, note 13.

<sup>2</sup> A. de BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts V*, Chicago 1954, p. 319. (Coffin B 2 L; 1).

<sup>3</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Revue d'Égypte ancienne* 1 (1927) 215. There was a temple of Baal in *Prw-nfr*, and one of its priests served at the same time in the temple of Astarte. (W. HELCK, *Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1971 p. 456. Baal Zaphon at Memphis is known from Papyrus Sallier IV, verso 1, 6. Astarte and Seth are associated in Pi-Ramses, the Delta residence of Ramses II. Of this town it is said in Papyrus Anastasi IV, 6, 4: «(its) southern part is the House of Seth, Astarte is in its East.» However, it is at Memphis and not at Pi-Ramses that Ptah is mentioned with Astarte.



texts<sup>1</sup>. It is mentioned in the great list of Canaanite towns conquered by Thutmosis III<sup>2</sup> and in several of the Tell Amarna letters<sup>3</sup>. It occurs in three topographical lists of Sethi I<sup>4</sup>, and one of Ramses II, which is really a copy of a list from the time of Sethi I<sup>5</sup>. A relief at the Karnak temple (time of Ramses II) depicts the storming of the city<sup>6</sup>. It is also mentioned in the Satirical Letter (Papyrus Anastasi I)<sup>7</sup> of the time of the same king.

There is thus attested in Egyptian documents an increasing interest in Accho at the time of the XIXth Dynasty. The little seal discussed here, picked up on the site of the ancient city, is another witness of the inter-connection of Egyptian commerce and culture with Canaan.

### *Appendix*

A year after the above was written, another negro-headed seal turned up in ancient Accho (Fig. 48a-c). This seal, too, seems to present Astarte. It is in the possession of the Israel Department of Antiquities and published here by its kind permission.

The seal is of black stone, 1.5 cm long and 1 cm wide. The head resembles in all details the seal from Azor and can be dated accordingly. The representation on its face also resembles the Azor seal very much: a galloping horse is held by a man, a bird can be seen behind it. On the Accho seal a person is riding side-saddle on the horse. This person wears a long dress and a conical cap, the right arm is lifted; it is difficult to see whether there is a weapon in the hand. The manner of riding suggests that a woman is represented here, in all likelihood another Astarte on horseback<sup>8</sup>.

The similarity of the Azor-seal with this seal from Accho seems to indicate that, in the former, Astarte is symbolically represented by the animal she is usually riding. Another horse with a bird above it, in all likelihood symbolizing Astarte, appears on a beaker from Ugarit<sup>9</sup>. A sitting god is

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<sup>1</sup> G. POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Bruxelles 1940, p. 87 («E. 49»).

<sup>2</sup> J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of the Egyptian Topographical Lists*, Leiden 1937, List I, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Letters 8, 9; 88, 46; 232, 4 and others; see also: A. ALT, *Palästina-jahrbuch* 20 (1924) p. 26 sq. (= *Kleine Schriften*, III, München 1959, p. 162 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> J. SIMONS, *op. cit.* (above, note 29) List XIII, 54; List XIV, 56; List XV, 13.

<sup>5</sup> J. SIMONS, *op. cit.* (above, note 29) List XXIV, 31.

<sup>6</sup> W. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, II, Leipzig 1940, 55 a.

<sup>7</sup> A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, Leipzig 1911, P. ANASTASI I, 21, 4; J. A. WILSON in *ANET* p. 477.

<sup>8</sup> J. LECLANT, *op. cit.* (above, note 16).

<sup>9</sup> C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Syria* XLIII, 1966, p. 3, fig. 1.

seen before an offering stand; drink is served to him by a priest or a king. Behind this person there stands a horse with a bird on top of it and a fish behind it. The curious triangular object underneath the horse of the Azor-seal may thus be interpreted as an offering stand also.

In this connection, the decorated Philistine jar from Megiddo <sup>1</sup> has to be taken into consideration. At the end of the curious procession marching towards a tree there also appears a horse with a bird and a fish. It may be that in Megiddo, as well as in Ugarit, the appearance of the Astarte symbol has astral connotations. Astral connections of Astarte are well attested in Canaan as well as in Egypt. It may well be that as «Queen of Heaven» or in one of her other aspects Astarte is intended in at least part of the many seals showing a riderless horse.

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<sup>1</sup> G. Loud et alii, Megiddo II, Chicago 1948, Pl. 76, 1.

## A CYLINDER-SEAL FROM TELL ZAPHIT

This cylinder-seal (Fig. 49), made of white steatite, was found on Tell Zaphit, in the south of the country; the site is often identified with Biblical Gath. The present seal was found in a Roman burial cave: this is not the only case when ancient remains were found in such surprising context. The seal is 2.5 cm high, the radius is 0.5 cm. It is now in the Museum of the Shefela, at Kfar Menahem. In the same museum there is an excellent collection of antiquities of the region, especially of the Israelite period.

The seal is made in the Syrian style. Its central feature is the Egyptian god Seth. He is grasping a lion by its tail with one hand, and swinging a club with the other hand, in order to kill the animal. Seth has the form of a human being, clad in a short kilt. His head is indistinct, he has a curved snout and his ears have triangular shape, each triangle standing on its apex, as often with Seth and the Sethian animal. Seth is intended here, as an Egyptian god; not Ba'al, who appears sometimes in the form of Seth. The name of Ba'al is sometimes written with the hieroglyph of Seth; but in this case the god is well defined as Seth and as Egyptian by the important epithet which is written before him in clear hieroglyphs: *phly*-ʿ3, «great of might». The epithet stands here without the name of Seth; epithet instead of name occurs, for instance, in Papyrus Anastasi II, 2, 6<sup>1</sup> and in Papyrus Harris 60, 5<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the god depicted could be the ideogram «Seth». In any case the writing of the expression «great of might» has two remarkable features: generally the column ʿ3 should be written over the two leopard heads, and it should be pointing to the beginning of the inscription, away from the head of Seth, as do the two animal heads. This alteration of its position has caused, then, that the second head (on the right) be written higher up than its fellow in order to allow space for the vertical

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<sup>1</sup> A. H. GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bruxelles 1937, 13.

<sup>2</sup> W. ERICHSEN, *Papyrus Harris I*, Bruxelles 1933, 70.

element of the '3 - column. All this points to an artist who knew Egyptian but was not very skilled in writing or copying it.

Behind Seth there are some branches which represent a grove in which two lions are hiding. One is shown walking on the ground line, the other at an angle to him, as if head down. Behind this grove there is another god slaying an animal. However, god and animal are hard to define this time; the god has a short garment, with a tassel on its lower seam. He has a high headgear (which reminds us of Amon) with an uraeus(?) on its front. Of the head only a beak can be seen. This figure seems to stand on a fish or a snake. He is holding the animal with one hand and has a flail in the other. The animal looks like a gazelle, its head is turned away. It is at a right angle to the ground: its hindlegs are parallel to the ground, its forelegs touch the god in the region of his hips. Between this god and Seth there is a scene-divider in the form of a branch.

The seal is pierced along its long axis, and around the perforation there are nine concentric circles within two simple frames.

Certain features of this seal are repeated in other cylinders. The bird-like beak of the «god» and his kilt <sup>1</sup>, the branches <sup>2</sup> lions of this style, and a similar bird-headed god holding a goat (?) on its hindlegs <sup>3</sup>. In Lachish the Egyptian gods Bes and Nekhbet appear within the same border on a cylinder seal <sup>4</sup>.

We have here the very rare occurrence of a Palestinian seal of the Late Bronze period, which does not only show Egyptian elements, added to the mainly local composition, but also an Egyptian hieroglyphic epithet of Seth. The cylinder seal from Tell Zaphit shows that not only Egyptian motifs but also Egyptian language penetrated into Canaan.

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<sup>1</sup> H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, Plate 32, g 2 (= BM 89227).

<sup>2</sup> B. BUCHANAN, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum I. Cylinder Seals*, Oxford 1966, No. 986.

<sup>3</sup> BUCHANAN, *op. cit.*, No. 1011. L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des Cylindres, cachets... du Musée du Louvre II*, Paris 1923, 212, Pl. 106 (26; A 1199).

<sup>4</sup> B. PARKER, *Iraq* 11 (1949) 12 Plate 4, No. 27; O. TUFNELL et alii, *Lachish III*, London 1953, Pl. 44A, 152.

## THREE ROYAL SCARABS FROM TELL ZAPHIT

In the Museum at Kfar Menahem are three Egyptian scarabs which were discovered on Tell Zaphit.

### 1. *Amen-hotep III (1417–1379) (Fig. 50a–c).*

This scarab is made of faience with a light green glaze, which is almost completely worn away. It is 3.5 cm long, 2.4 cm wide, 1.1 cm high. Inscribed on it is: *nb-m³t-R'* «Re (the sun-god) is the Lord of Truth». «Re», the sun-disc, appears at the beginning of the inscription, according to Egyptian usage which mentions the gods first. In the centre of the inscription, which consists of three signs, appears the figure of the goddess Ma'at, the Goddess of Truth. She is sitting down and holds in her hands above her knees the sign of life – 'Ankh. On her head is a feather. The sign *nb* (master) appears at the end of the inscription for two reasons: as a small sign it balances the sign for the sun, which also is small; in addition, the form of the sign *nb* fits nicely into the curve of the scarab frame. Sometimes there are doubts as to whether this shape on scarabs is to be explained as being the word *nb*, or whether it should be assigned a purely ornamental function. In the Bliss-Macalister excavations at Tell Zaphit, at the beginning of this century, an additional scarab of Amen-hotep III was found, also bearing the inscription *nb-m³t-R'* <sup>1</sup>. Scarabs such as ours are common. The Palestine Archeological Museum (Rockefeller Museum) has five examples: From Gezer, Tel Ajjul, Lachish and Tel -Abu-Hawwam (near Haifa) <sup>2</sup>; a scarab of this type in the British Museum comes from Rhodes <sup>3</sup>.

The name *nb-m³t-R'* is the king's «private name». In the Egyptian kings' series of five names it occupies the fourth place. It is written inside a frame

<sup>1</sup> F. J. BLISS, R. A. S. MACALISTER, *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898–1900*, London 1902, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> A. ROWE, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Le Caire 1936*, Pl. 14, 544–549. Cf. 541–543, 555–558.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. HALL, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum. I. Royal Scarabs*, London 1913, 192 (No. 1915).

(cartouche), with the title «King of Upper and Lower Egypt» preceding it. This name is bestowed upon the prince at the time of his accession to the throne. As the king was known to his contemporaries by this name, such «private names» not infrequently contain a religious or political declaration or a motto for the ruler. In the Tell-el-Amarna Letters, which are addressed to Amenhotep III and to his son, we find this name in an Accadian form *nimuria*. «Amenophis» is the Greek form in which the name Amenhotep is given by Manetho.

Amenhotep is the fifth name. It is written inside a frame; it is preceded by the title «Son (of the god) Re», which is a kind of family name. Names common to a number of kings in one dynasty are such «family names», as for example: Thutmose, Ramses, and Amenhotep itself.

## 2. Ramses II (1371–1304) (Fig. 51a–c).

A scarab made of white steatite. Its length is 2.1 cm, width 1.6 cm, height 0.7 cm. Its back is damaged. The upper part shows the goddess Nekhbet as a vulture seen from the front. Beneath it is a frame with the name *wsr-m3't-R' stp-n-R'* inside it «Re is rich in truth, chosen by Re». This also is a «private name» and corresponds to *nb-m3't-R'* in the previous item. Both include the name Re, as happens often in «private» names.

Underneath the frame are various hieroglyphs. On the right side, the crown of Lower Egypt; in the centre, the sign of Djed, a column symbolizing stability. On the left side appears the king's title: *mrj-'Imm-R'* – beloved of Amun-Ra'.

## 3. Ramses II (Fig. 52a–c).

A scarab made of the same material. Its measurements: length 2.2 cm, width 1.5 cm, height 1.0 cm. The (bottom) left corner of the scarab's face is damaged. The frame, with the king's name, constitutes here the upper part of the scarab's face. The name is: Meri-Amun Ramses – Beloved of Amun (the god) is Ramses. The second part of the name, «Ramses», is the «family name» and the king's name as the son of Re. The name is not its usual form; this special form appears in Egypt for the first time in the royal inscriptions in the eighth year of his reign. As against this, the inscription on scarab no. 2 already appears at the beginning of his rule.

One must not, however, infer from this fact that no. 3 is later than no. 2. On a stele found at Tanis (stele n. 2) this name appears a number of times together with the name of scarab no. 2<sup>1</sup>. The same applies to the stele

<sup>1</sup> J. Yoyotte, *Kêmi* 10 (1949) Plates 6–7.

found at Tell-el-Maskhuta, Biblical Pithom<sup>1</sup>. The Pithom stele has another interesting parallel with scarab no. 3: on the upper part of the stele we see the god «Re of the Horizon», on a chair without a back. In his left hand he holds a long stick, while his right hand holds out to his beloved son, the king, an oblong object ending in the sign for life «'Ankh». The implement is a kind of pipe through which the god breathes the «spirit of life» into his son. The king offers the god a statue of Ma'at. On the other side of that same stele the king appears for the second time, this time he offers Ma'at to Atum, the ancient god of Heliopolis. On this scarab the motif appears with slight changes: here, Ptah sits down, the god who resides in Memphis holds the stick and dispenses the spirit of life. The king kneels and offers the Rekhyt-bird to the god.

The Rekhyt bird – the lapwing – has an obscure meaning. It is sure that a group of people, living in Egypt, is intended. A possible translation would be «Subjects (to the Pharaoh)». Originally the meaning may have been: inhabitants of the Delta, town-dwellers of the Delta.

Of the two steles and of scarab no. 3 can be said that they were produced no earlier than the eighth year of the king.

More than once scarabs were found at Tell Zaphit. The early ones date from the time of the Hyksos<sup>2</sup>, while the last king mentioned on a scarab from this tell is Ramses IV (1154–1151)<sup>3</sup>. A large number of these are royal scarabs. Using the king's name was not the sole prerogative of the king or his administration. The Egyptians believed that the king's status lent his name special power, and seals with his name written on them were used for magical purposes and for safeguarding life and property. Many citizens used them not necessarily always as seals, but as amulets forming part of a necklace or a ring. There are many ways by which such a scarab could have found its way to the tells of this country, the main ones being through conquest and trade. The discovery of a royal scarab at a site merely indicates that there had, in fact, been *contact* between Egypt and the early settlement – no more than that.

The times, when the kings who appear on the scarabs ruled, can be worked out with a considerable degree of confidence and precision, in spite of the contradictory systems of establishing Egyptian chronology. Even

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<sup>1</sup> G. MASPÉRO, *Revue Archéologique* (NS) 34 (1877) 321. See also J. YOVOTTE, *Kémi* 13 (1954) 79 (with note 3), fig. 1. and 2.

<sup>2</sup> In the Shephela Museum, Kfar Menahem, unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> B. PORTER, R. L. B. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. VII. Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt, Oxford 1952, <sup>2</sup> 1962, p. 372.

so, these means still do not enable us to decide the age of the stratum in which the scarab was found, nor yet the age of the scarab itself. Scarabs were not infrequently preserved for a great length of time by one family; occasionally they were placed inside the grave of the head of the family after generations of usage. They are, moreover, easily transferred from one stratum to another by rodents or by humans digging foundations at a later period. The error, in such instances, can occur in both directions, as the scarab is liable to «rise» or «descend» in this way.

An additional reason misleads us often to give an early date to the scarabs: in Israel as in Egypt, it was customary to use not only the name of the living king, but also names of kings who had already departed from this world, particularly the names of those kings who had been especially powerful. We therefore find in this country «royal» scarabs of Thutmose III, Amenhotep III and Seti I until the end of the First Temple Period. Several of the kings were privileged to have their name used repeatedly on account of its magical and religious significance, Thutmose III being a case in question. Many of the «anachronistic» scarabs were not made by Egyptians, but by inhabitants of Israel. They did not always understand what it was they copied, which is why they not infrequently distorted the Egyptian signs and names.

There is one particularly interesting example of this in the Rockefeller Museum<sup>1</sup>; it is a seal with three royal cartouches on its face (Fig. 53). On the left are three signs within a frame. This is a corruption of the name *men-kheper-re*<sup>2</sup>, the «private» name of Thutmose III. On the right side are distorted signs of the private name of Seti I *men-ma'at-re*<sup>3</sup>: this king lived more than a hundred years after Thutmose III. Scarabs bearing the names of both these two kings together are not rare in Egypt. It appears to be merely accidental that none were found in Israel. That such scarabs were known among the inhabitants of Israel is proved by our seal here: in the central and largest frame is written in ancient Hebrew letters: *šmryw*. We know this name Shemaryu from the Samaria ostraca. The form of the Hebrew letters on the seal fits that of the period of the Samaria ostraca – end of the eighth century. It is no mere accident that this object was acquired (some ten years ago) in Nablus (Sichem), which is close to Samaria. The Israelite for whom the seal was prepared certainly did not realize what he was doing when he ordered his name to be engraved between the names of two Egyptian kings, both mighty conquerors. The artist filled the empty spaces remaining on the seal with Egyptian symbols which had been used

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Y. Scott, *Vetus Testamentum* 14 (1964) 109.



for this purpose since the time of the Hyksos. We see the symbol for beauty, for the sun and for existence; all three signs are close to but not identical with the accepted Egyptian form.

A gap of seven hundred years separates the period of Thutmose III from that of Shemaryu.

If the scarabs constitute evidence merely for *contact* between the cities of Canaan and Israel and those of Egypt, our evaluation differs as regards the steles and stele fragments. A fragment of the Sheshonk Stele at Megiddo<sup>1</sup> serves as proof that this king conquered the city, and the same applies to a fragment from the Thutmose's III Inscription at Tell Kinneret<sup>2</sup>. The discovery of a number of royal steles at Beth Shan<sup>3</sup> faithfully reflects the special position of this city as a base of Egyptian rule in Canaan. There is a fragment of an Egyptian stele at Tel-Zaphit<sup>4</sup> of which only the end of one word remains, followed by – the name of a woman. This might be a private memorial stele. We suggest reading the name Astarte, that is to say, a form of the name of the goddess Ishtar.

The name of the goddess appears as a private name in an additional Egyptian document. This is *istr-im* «Ishtar is my mother» (Eighteenth Dynasty)<sup>5</sup>. A corresponding name appears on a «magic knife», made of ivory, from Megiddo<sup>6</sup>, on which we read: *ba'tumu* «Ba'a(l)at (is my) mother». Even though this object was found in stratum VIII (1479–1350) at Megiddo, it must be ascribed, along with all the other «knives» of this type, to the Middle Kingdom.

Even though the Tel-Zaphit stele is private and not royal, such a fragment cannot but point to the permanent settlement of Egyptians in the city. This may imply an occupation force after they had conquered it, or the presence of a garrison or an Egyptian commercial centre. Let us note the Canaanite form of the name. The woman may have come to the place

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<sup>1</sup> R. S. LAMON, G. M. SHIPTON, Megiddo I, Chicago 1939, 60.

<sup>2</sup> W. F. ALBRIGHT, A. ROWE, Journal of Egyptian Archeology 14 (1928) 281–285, Pl. 29.

<sup>3</sup> PORTER, MOSS, op. cit. (see above, note 7) 376–380.

<sup>4</sup> BLISS-MACALISTER, op. cit. (see above, note 1) 43, 106–107. – In the form in which the inscription of Bliss-Macalister appears, the name is not clear. In order to arrive at the reading here suggested, one needs to change the direction of two signs and to read from right to left. In fact, also with the «usual» reading, one must change the direction of two signs, but even then the name has no meaning either in Egyptian or in Canaanite.

<sup>5</sup> H. RANKE, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I. Glückstadt 1935, 47, 1.

<sup>6</sup> G. LOUD, Megiddo II, Chicago 1948, Plate 203, 1; J. A. WILSON, American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 58 (1941) 235 ff.

with her family precisely on account of their Canaanite origin: in the spheres of administration and trade such people were most apt to serve Egyptian interests, perhaps under the supervision of more senior officials, natives of the Nile Valley for generations. If there had been connections between the city at Tell Zaphit and the Egyptians, then the question arises as to whether documents found in Egypt itself can help us in identifying the city. Our reference is to the lists of conquered cities, which have appeared since the time of Thutmose III on the walls of temples and on the bases of statues <sup>1</sup>.

These lists are not historical documents in the strict meaning of the word. As with the Execration Texts, the Egyptians included in the lists cities and enemies they would like to conquer – in the hope that «sacrificing» them in a temple would exert a magic influence on reality. Many of the inscriptions are conventional and copies of older inscriptions. One must not look for exactitude and geographical order in these lists. Three biblical cities appearing in Egyptian lists, and which one must assume to be located in the northern Coastal Plain, have not been identified so far: Libnah is mentioned in the lists of Ramses III together with Beth Dagon; Gath is in the list of Thutmose III, together with Jaffa, Lydda, etc; and a city by the name of Rabbah (cf. Josh. 15:60) is also mentioned in the list of Thutmose III, together with Gezer. This city appears once more, also this time with Gezer, in the list of Sheshonk. The Tell-el-Amarna Letters mention «Rubute» as a neighbour of Gezer; however, in the Egyptian lists it appears north of Gezer. As we said, the geographical order in the lists is neither exact nor fixed.

It is possible that Tell Zaphit is not identical with any place mentioned in the biblical literature or in the Egyptian lists.

A scientific excavation, following on the work of Bliss and Macalister, would doubtlessly further our understanding of the history of this important city, situated on a vital crossroads, and may possibly lead to a complete identification.

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<sup>1</sup> J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937.

## EGYPTIAN SEALS IN THE MARITIME MUSEUM, HAIFA

The Maritime Museum has recently acquired two Egyptian scarabs and two Egyptian amulet-seals from the second millennium B.C., all of them displaying a boat – or fish-design. They are all reported as coming from this country.

1. An amulet-seal (Fig. 54a–b) made of steatite, measuring  $1.8 \times 1.4$  cms, with a thickness of 0.4 cms. The design on one side is of a sphinx with the royal uraeus on its forehead. Engraved in front of this head is the king's name, that of Amenhotep II. Above the monster are written the words: «The good god, lord of the two lands». Underneath the sphinx there is a dividing line, below which the name of the king appears again. The name is here written in the cartouche, customary for the names of the Egyptian kings. Beside this cartouche appears the designation «beloved of Amon-Re». This designation is written with two slight errors: the sign *mr* is facing the wrong way; and the sign *i* appears, instead of one time only, twice, and then in the wrong place.

On the other side of the plaque we see the king in boat of the sun-god. The boat is a flat vessel made of reeds bound together with ropes, and with the head of a hawk crowned with double feathers, the emblem of the god Month at either end. At the end of the boat there are two oars resting on a diagonal pole. Part of the continuation of the oars can be seen under the boat. A similar boat, with an identical arrangement of oars, appears on a scarab from the reign of Thutmose III, found at Tel el-Ajjul; and another seal with a similar boat is in the possession of the British Museum <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A. ROWE, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Le Caire 1936, 114, No. 480, Pl. XI, No. 480; F. S. MATOUK, Corpus du Scarabée Egyptien I, Beyrouth 1971, Fig. 268, 413; G. JEQUIER, Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Tome II. Les approches du temple, Le Caire 1940, 45, fig. 36; W. C. HAYES, The sceptre of Egypt II, Cambridge (Mass.) 1959, 125, fig. 66; H. R. HALL,

In the boat stands Re, the god of the sun in his special aspect as «Re-Horus of the Horizon», i.e. a combination of the god Re with the god Horus. Hence, the sun-god appears here in the likeness of a man with a hawk's head. Above his head – the sun-disk and a serpent. In front of the god the king, wearing the blue crown. The god is holding the king's hand, and between them is the symbol of life<sup>1</sup>. Behind the king's head the words «lord of the two lands» are written again. According to one view, it was the king's destiny, after his death, to be united with the sun, to accompany the sun on its daily voyage in its boat across the firmament. Presumably, this amulet, like all the other scarabs which depict the king in Re's boat, were made a short time after the king's death, to preserve his memory and to help him, magically, in the attainment of his desire – his resurrection to renewed life with his father, the sun-god.

2. This scarab (Fig. 55a–c) is made of steatite ( $1.9 \times 1.4 \times 0.9$  cms). The design is similar to that on the amulet but its artistic level is inferior. The king is seated on his throne, in a similar boat, with his left hand raised. Above and below this hand there are small circles, which perhaps represent the sun. At the king's feet the sign *ḏd* standing for stability, can be discerned. Behind this sign, and also behind the throne, appears the emblem of truth in the form of a feather.

3. The back of this scarab-shaped seal (Fig. 56a–b) ( $1.8 \times 1.3 \times 0.6$  cms) bears the name of the king Amenhotep III (Neb-macat-Re). On the other side appears the fish known in Egyptian as *int* (*Tilapia nilotica*), and beside it the sign *nfr* meaning «good» or «beautiful». This fish, which still abounds in the Nile, was believed in Ancient Egypt to accompany the boat of Re, the sun-god<sup>2</sup>.

4. A fourth amulet-seal (Fig. 57a–b) ( $2.4 \times 2 \times 0.7$  cms) bears, on one side, the name of the king Thutmose III and, on the other side, once again the fish *int*, this time with the hieroglyph representing a water-jug, the same jug which sometimes appears on Egyptian inscriptions in the meaning of «libation» or «cool», or even of «heaven» as the place to which the king goes after his death. Strips of cloth are wound round the jug to keep its contents cool.

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Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum I. Royal Scarabs, London 1913, 107, No. 1096 and 1097, 169, No. 1712.

<sup>1</sup> E. NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari IV*, London 1901, Pl. 115.

<sup>2</sup> CH. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *Kémi* 13 (1954) 33–42.

## A MONOGRAM SCARAB FROM TEL MASOS

The scarab (Fig. 58a-b), found at Tel Masos, is made of white steatite, 1.4 cm. wide, 1.8 cm. long and 0.8 cm. high.

Within a frame formed by a single line there is a scene, summarily executed, of a Pharaoh killing a bound prisoner. Behind the king there stands a person, represented on a much smaller scale, who raises his arms in adoration. The king is clad in a short garment which reaches to his knees; he seems to wear the blue crown, with the uraeus in front. In his right hand he swings a straight sword above his head; with his left hand he holds a kneeling prisoner whose arms are tied and lifted up behind his back in an impossible gesture. This may be a misunderstanding of the gesture of prisoners asking for their lives with upraised arms, which occur in similar scenes. Here the legs show that the prisoner, whose face is indistinct, turns away from the king.

The two hieroglyphs before the king are *r'* (the sun disk), its lower part flattened, resembling *t* (the loaf of bread) and *hpr*. We suggest regarding the design on this scarab as the writing of a name. The victorious king, killing his enemy, represents, on this principle, the words *wsr* «strength». By the combination of this with the two hieroglyphs we receive a monogram which may be interpreted as a shortened form of the prenomen of Seti II of the XIXth Dynasty (about 1214–1208 B.C.): *wsr-hprw-r'* (*stp-n-r'*). The letters have been shifted and the name shortened for lack of space. This shortening of the name of Seti II is quite frequent<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The name has *hpr* in the singular here as in: W. M. F. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London 1917; Pl. 44: 8–18. The flattening of the *r'* sign, making it similar to ' (which would not give sense here), can be observed *ibid.*, Pl. 44: 13. That the part of the name having *stp-n-r'* can be omitted if there is no room for it in the design of the scarab, can be seen in the specimen of the Matouk Collection (F. S. MATOUK, *Corpus du scarabée égyptien I*, Beyrouth 1971: 218, 695; H. R. HALL, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum I*, London 1913: 230, no. 2297).

The monograph use of figures to fit a royal name occurs several times during the time of XIXth and XXth Dynasties. A scarab of Ramses II shows Ma'at, the goddess of truth, as a woman with the typical feather on her head, the *wsr* sign in her hand and the sun disk *r'* in front of her. This reads as the prenomen of Ramses II: *wsr-m3't r'*<sup>1</sup>. Mostafa el-Alfi has related this scarab to a relief of Ramses II at Abu-Simbel<sup>2</sup>, where Ma'at appears with sun disk and feather together on her head and the *wsr* sign in her hand.

In the temple of Derr (Nubia) the figure of the king is seen on a relief in the sanctuary, where the king is holding *wsr* and feather, with a sun disk (*r'*) on his head<sup>3</sup>. In the collection of University College, London<sup>4</sup> there is a scarab showing the king in the same gesture we noticed on the Masos scarab, swinging the same type of weapon; over the arm which holds the prisoner there is a small *m3't*-sign, over his double crown there is a *r'* sign. This should also be read as *wsr - m3't - r'*. The *m3't* is transposed, as *hpr* and *r'* are in the Masos specimen. Another feature common to the two is the fact that the *wsr* sign is not being held by the king or a god but is replaced by the king as a victorious fighter. The king is accompanied by a lion; the hieroglyphic group *mn* appears behind him. In the same collection there is a scarab<sup>5</sup> where the sun god Re', in his form of Re'-of-the-Horizon, appears falcon-headed, with a human body, the *wsr* in his hand; opposite him is the king, a little figure of Ma'at between the two. At Tell el-Far'ah (South), there was found a scarab showing again a king killing a prisoner, a *r'* sign over the arm holding the prisoner, a *m3't* feather behind him<sup>6</sup>. A scarab of Ramses IV of the XXth Dynasty shows Ma'at holding the staff *hq3*, with the sun-disk *r'* above: this gives the prenomen of Ramses IV: *hq3 - m3't - r'*<sup>7</sup>. Another scarab of this king comes from the cemetery of Deir el-Balah where the king is holding the *hq3* staff; a *r'* sign and the feather are behind him. Interestingly we have here the second

<sup>1</sup> G. FRAZER, A Catalogue of Scarabs, London 1900; Pl. 11: 302.

<sup>2</sup> M. EL-ALFI, Recherches sur quelques scarabées Ramsès II, JEA 58 (1972): 178-179; Fig. 4; Pl. 35: 3.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. BLACKMAN, The Temple of Derr, Cairo 1913, Pl. 57.

<sup>4</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, London 1917, Pl. 40: 24.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, op. cit. Pl. 40: 22.

<sup>6</sup> A. ROWE, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Cairo 1936 Pl. 17: 670.

<sup>7</sup> H. R. HALL, Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum I, London 1913: 236 no. 2355 - where «Ramses III» has to be corrected into «Ramses IV».

part of the prenomen: *stp - n - r'* written fully. This is omitted in all other examples <sup>1</sup>.

We can divide the rebus-like name scarabs into two main types: those in which all hieroglyphs appear, some adorning the king or a god or a goddess or held by them and the other type, in which the sign *wsr* for «strong» is replaced by the figure of the victorious king as an epitome of strength. The Masos scarab belongs to the second type.

Seti II is attested to several times in Sinai <sup>2</sup> and in the temple of Hathor at Timna' <sup>3</sup> He appears in Tell el-Far'ah (South) twice, on a large fragment of a storage jar <sup>4</sup> and on a scarab <sup>5</sup>. Another scarab of the king was found on the surface of Tel Taanach; and in the Dayan Collection, there is an additional scarab. Nothing definite is known about its origin, but it undoubtedly came from Palestine.

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<sup>1</sup> Unpublished; no. 327 in the collection.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. GARDINER and T. E. PEET, *The Inscriptions of Sinai II* (2nd ed. revised and augmented by J. ČERNÝ) London 1955; 185.

<sup>3</sup> B. ROTHENBERG, Timna, London 1972, 165; Fig. 49: 6.

<sup>4</sup> E. MACDONALD, J. L. STARKEY and L. HARDING, Beth - Peleth II, London 1932, 28-29; Pl. 61: 1.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London 1917 Pl. 52: 130. This will be republished with a photograph on Pl. 17 «f» in R. GIVEON, *Egyptian Seals from Western Asia* (in the series: Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum). In preparation.

The interpretation and dating of this object has caused some discussions in archaeological conventions and congresses in Israel since this paper appeared. The critical attitudes were divided between those who preferred an earlier date (Ramsès II) and those who would date it later than I did - to the time of Ramsès X.

The iconographic significance of the seal has been discussed by O. KEEL, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 5*, Freiburg / Göttingen 1974, 102-104. (fig. 53).

## TWO NEW HEBREW SEALS AND THEIR ICONOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND<sup>1</sup>

### *1. A Seal from the Shephelah*

This little scaraboid (Fig. 59) was found in summer 1959 during agricultural operations in an orchard of the village of Revadim, in the northern Shephelah, at point 132131. As there are no ruins, no large number of potsherds, no indication of a Tell in the whole district, it has to be assumed that the seal was accidentally dropped by its owner, or, alternatively, that it has been washed down by one of the many rivulets in winter-time, from a site at an appreciable distance, not to be identified any more.

The seal is 1.7 cm. long and 1.5 cm. broad, made of steatite. The inscription אבא is easily recognizable : «belonging to Abba». Below the inscription we have a scene, executed in a half-schematic manner and not very well preserved. On the left we see a person, facing the centre of the lower register and presenting an object to the central figure. His other arm is well behind his body. The central figure seems to be sitting, right hand pointing to its mouth, left arm behind. It is impossible to make out on what this figure is sitting; it may be an elaborate podium, a chair, or plants. On the right we have an additional figure, in a position similar to the first one, one hand raised in adoration.

We have before us a scene of adoration directed at the Sun-child. The Sun-child appears frequently in the ivory carvings of the first millennium

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<sup>1</sup> The two seals from Israel are published here by kind permission of Mr. N. Idlin of the Revadim settlement and Mr. M. Rogbi of the modern village of Dan, owners of the seals. Dr. R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, drew my attention to the Ba'al-Ĥn seal in the Museum's collection and kindly allowed me to publish it. M. A. Parrot, Conservateur en chef of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre was good enough to enable me to handle the Ba'al Nathan seal and to have it re-photographed for publication. It was misleading to call the region in which the seal of Abba was found «The Valley of Ayalon», as in the original paper.



B.C. at Nimrud <sup>1</sup>, at Arslan Tash <sup>2</sup>, where there were found 19 ivory panels with the subject, belonging, as it seems, to one single bit of furniture, and further south, at Samaria <sup>3</sup>. The Amathus bowl <sup>4</sup> from Cyprus and many seals, for instance one from Sardinia <sup>5</sup>, show one adoring figure only before the child. The prototype of these representations is the scene of adoration in Egyptian art, showing two divinities adoring the child; these may be male or female. In Phoenician art we have male genii in adoration. In one of the Samaria ivories we have Harachtē offering a small sculpture of Ma'at, the goddess of truth, to the child. Of this bas-relief only one half is preserved; the child sits on a lotus flower, flagellum in hand. On the Revadim seal, too, Ma'at is being presented to the child; the peculiar sitting position, knees high up, is indicative of that. As far as style is concerned, this seal is closely approaching the extreme schematic treatment on Palestinian and Phoenician seals of the 7th century, but preserves a certain amount of naturalistic treatment in according a certain «fullness» to the figures. The inscription is in an inverted position, an impression made with this seal would have to be read with the figures standing on their heads.

The name «Abba» is not very rare on seals of Palestine and neighbouring countries in the first millennium. A seal which P. Vincent describes <sup>6</sup> has *one* letter inverted, the first Aleph. This bone seal, reputed to come from Ascalon, shows two people standing beside an altar, one lifting an object, which may be a vessel, the other raising his right hand in adoration. Above their heads are a crescent and a disk respectively. Reifenberg <sup>7</sup> publishes a seal, coming probably from Jerusalem with the inscription

לֵאבָא  
בִּינִי

which latter word could be read בינה as well. Galling <sup>8</sup> quotes a seal from the Berlin Museum, said to come from Beirut, with the inscription לֵאבָא showing a griffin with an Egyptian crown. The name Abba, frequent in Mishnaic literature, does not occur in the Biblical period, the nearest

<sup>1</sup> R. D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London 1957, c. 51 (pl. VIII).

<sup>2</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN et alii, *Arslan Tash*, Paris 1931, pl. XIX, 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. CROWFOOT and G. M. CROWFOOT, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London, 1938, Frontispiece.

<sup>4</sup> J. L. MYRES, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 53 (1933) pp. 25–39.

<sup>5</sup> G. EBERS, *Antichità Sarde*, *Annali dell'Istituto di Correspondencia archeologica*, Roma, 55 (1883) pl. F. I.

<sup>6</sup> H. VINCENT, *Notes d'Épigraphie Palestinienne*, *Revue Biblique*, 12 (1903) p. 606.

<sup>7</sup> A. REIFENBERG, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, *PEQ*, 74 (1942) pl. XIV, 6.

<sup>8</sup> K. GALLING, *Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausendes v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina*, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*, 64 (1941) p. 121.

approach being אֲבִי which occurs with the name of Hiram of Tyre in 2 Chron. ii, 12 and again in the form אֲבִי in 2 Chron. iv, 16. In both cases the person in question seems to be well versed in the typical arts of Phoenicia. In 2 Kings xviii, 2 the name אֲבִי is a shortening of אֲבִיה, the mother of Hezekiah.

The dating of the seal has been called into question by F. M. Cross Jr.<sup>1</sup>. His paper, wholly devoted to the seal, dates it to the 12th century B.C. and classes it as a Proto-Canaanite script. In this he is followed by W. F. Albright<sup>2</sup>, B. Mazar<sup>3</sup> and J. Naveh<sup>4</sup>. The date suggested by us is supported by F. Dias Esteban<sup>5</sup>, who refers to another seal with the same name found in the Malaga district of Spain<sup>6</sup>.

A Phoenician seal, made of Jasper, with a similar motif was found in a burial cave in Tharros (Sardinia). It is in the British Museum<sup>7</sup> and will be published together with the other Tharros material in the Museum.

It seems to us that a seal inscription with only three different letters does not give a sound base for dating on epigraphic grounds. The personal name Abba is unknown in the 12th century, so is the motif of the seal. The earliest example of this motif discovered so far is of the time of Herihor (1085–1054 B.C.)<sup>8</sup>.

## 2. *A Seal from the Region of Dan*

Found in the built-up area of the Dan settlement, which is near Tel el-Qadi, the Biblical Dan, it seems likely that this seal (Fig. 60) originates from nearby Wadi el-Assal. Earth used for filling in road work was brought from this spot, which is about 800 m. east of modern Dan. The seal is 20 mm.

<sup>1</sup> An Archaic Inscribed Seal from the Valley of Ayalon, *BASOR* 168 (1962) 12–18.

<sup>2</sup> The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and their Decipherment, Cambridge (Mass.) 1969, 11, No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Proceedings 1 (No. 7) (1964) 5 (Hebrew).

<sup>4</sup> *Lešonēnū* 30 (1965) 74.

<sup>5</sup> Dos notas a las inscripciones de Toscanos, *Madrid Mitteilungen* 13 (1972) 158.

<sup>6</sup> On p. 159, fig. 1, 1 a drawing of our seal is given, upside down.

<sup>7</sup> No. 134169, grave 30.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien VIII*, reprint Genève 1972, Bl. 244; B. Porter/R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II. Theban Temples*, Oxford 1972, 231 (31). I owe this reference to Mr. H. Schlögl, Zürich. It refers to a relief in the temple of Chons, Karnak. A monography dealing with the subject is: S. Morenz/J. Schubert *Der Gott auf der Blume. Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie und ihre weltweite Bildwirkung*, Ascona 1954.

long and 15 mm. broad, made of carneol. At both ends of the long axis are little conical holes, showing that the seal was fitted into a ring.

The greater part of the surface of the seal is taken up by a four-winged figure striding towards the right. This figure is holding bow-like objects in both hands and wears the Phoenician form of the Egyptian double crown. One leg is completely covered down to the calf by the skirt, the other leg is entirely visible through the very thin tissue of the skirt. A thin line from the calf of the one leg to the other indicates a veil-like garment. Thin garments like these are usual in Egypt. Genii with *one* leg uncovered reflect an Assyrian tradition.

The four-winged genius, of Mitannian derivation, is well known in Assyrian art. A seal in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris <sup>1</sup> is an early example. From Hazor, which is not very far from Dan, we have a four-winged genius holding a «tree of life» on a carved ivory handle dated to the end of the 9th or beginning of the 8th century B.C. <sup>2</sup> We find it on a bronze bowl from Curium <sup>3</sup> (Cyprus), killing a lion, and on a bowl from Nimrud <sup>4</sup> sitting on a lotus flower: thereby it establishes a link with the motive of the seal from Revadim just described.

The Sun-child lost its mythological connotations, which gave it its place in Egyptian iconography, when it entered Phoenicia; and it became «the child predestinated to be a god from birth». In a similar manner there occurred a change of meaning when the four-winged genius became a frequent motive in Phoenician art. For this change we have some literary testimony in the Greek fragments of Sanchoniathon as quoted by Philo from Byblos. According to Eissfeldt, Sanchoniathon is to be dated to the 7th century. He came from Beirut <sup>5</sup>. In his account of Phoenician religion he states Ἰλὸν τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, «El who is Kronos» <sup>6</sup>. Eusebius <sup>7</sup> identifies Kronos with Bel. Now it is interesting to note that the same Sanchoniathon remarks that Kronos = El of the Phoenicians had four wings <sup>8</sup>. This change of meaning of the four-winged genius can be followed up one further

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<sup>1</sup> L. DELAPORTE, Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1910, No. 473.

<sup>2</sup> Y. YADIN, et alii, Hazor I, Jerusalem 1958, pl. CLI.

<sup>3</sup> G. PERROT and CH. CHIZEZ, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité III, Paris 1885, fig. 552.

<sup>4</sup> R. D. BARNETT, The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians, Iraq 2 (1935) p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> O. EISSFELDT, Ras Schamra und Sanchuniaton, Halle 1939.

<sup>6</sup> C. ORELLI (ed.), Sanchoniathonis... Fragmenta..., Leipzig 1826, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> EUSEBIUS, Praep. Evangel., IX, 17.

<sup>8</sup> C. ORELLI, op. cit., p. 38.

step. A similarity of sound has led fairly early to a confusion between the god Kronos and a personification of Time, χρόνος. We find an instance of this, for example, in Plutarch's book on Isis and Osiris<sup>1</sup>, ὥσπερ "Ελληγες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον. This gave to the four wings a new, symbolic, meaning: instead of the all-pervading presence of El, who moves, with his wings, tirelessly from place to place, it reminded mortals of the quick passage of time<sup>2</sup>.

The inscription on the Dan seal reads אַזָּא, «for Aza». The same inscription appears on a Phoenician scaraboid quoted by Perrot and Chipiez<sup>3</sup>. This seal is very similar in type to our specimen. Its genius is two-winged, most probably, as Perrot and Chipiez have pointed out, for lack of space. The name Uzza is fairly frequent in the Bible: Uzzah is one of the two persons charged with bringing the ark back from the land of the Philistines. In chapter 6 of the first book of Samuel he is called Uzza as well as Uzzah. A man named Uzza is amongst the Nethinim whose families returned from captivity (Ezra, ii, 49, Nehemiah vii, 51). There is an Uza amongst the persons named on the Samaria Ostraka of the 8th century<sup>4</sup>. The name of King Uzziah appears in several forms, in the late form עֻזִּיָּא (1 Chron. xi, 44) and in the shortened version עֻזִּי. The name has the fundamental meaning «God is my strength».

The connection between Dan and the Phoenician cities of the coast is well attested in the Bible and existed even before the conquest of Canaanite Laish by the tribe of Dan (Judges xviii, 7). The new seal from the region of Dan confirms this fact and demonstrates the elements of Egyptian and Mesopotamian art which went into the formation of Phoenician iconography. Additional seals of the same region and the same period may be of help in understanding some of the features of the Dan seal.

The best known of similar seals is the Ba'al Nathan seal in the Louvre (Fig. 61). Found in Tello (Lagash) it shows a four-winged figure advancing towards the right, with the same division by two parallel lines which can be seen on the Aza seal. The inscription of the Tello-seal reads בעל נתן

<sup>1</sup> G. PARTHEY (ed.), *Über Isis und Osiris*, Berlin 1850, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> A discussion of the four-winged male god can be found in R. D. BARNETT, 'Anat, Ba'al and Pasargadae, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph-Beyrouth*, 45 (1969) 411-422, who thinks that the figure with four wings represents Ba'al.

<sup>3</sup> G. PERROT and CH. CHAPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité III*, Paris 1885, fig. 458.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. REISNER and C. S. FISHER, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria I*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1924, p. 233 (No. 1).

Ba'al Nathan. There is no indication that one or both legs are covered; two eyes, similar to Egyptian hieroglyphic representation of the eye, appear at each side of the monster; in these features the Tello seal is more Egyptian than the Dan seal. The figure is holding two snakes. This evokes the well known snake worship in Palestine and Phoenicia. Furthermore this fact serves to interpret the curious objects in the hands of the Dan genius: they must be snakes, too. A certain preoccupation with snakes and snake worship may possibly be hinted at in Jacob's blessing of Dan: «Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path» (Genesis xlix, 17). It seems that the seal-cutter from Dan worked from a model without quite understanding it; therefore he has not only given a thickening at the head, but at the tail, too. An additional feature of the Tello seal are the snakes hanging from the crown of the monster. They are not paralleled by anything in the Dan seal. The seal from Tello is dated to the 8th century. It measures 22 mm. in length, 15 mm. in width and is made of variegated agate.

The British Museum possesses a further seal of this type (Fig. 62). Its number in the museum is 117908, it is 25 mm. long and 18 mm. broad. It was given to the Museum by Mr. C. Lambert in 1926. Its provenance is unknown. It should be dated to the 7th century. The main feature is a four-winged figure, marching to the left. It has the two parallel lines underneath the figure but the space thus created remained empty. The inscription בעל חן Ba'al Ḥn appears in front of the figure. The genius is holding a flower in each hand. His garment is of Assyrian type. The attendants from Khorsabad (time of Sargon) now in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> and the two-winged, bird-headed monsters from Nimrud (now in the Louvre)<sup>2</sup> show the same feature of a garment leaving one leg bare. The same feature appears in the Dan seal too, as pointed out. The Ba'al Ḥn seal has the head and the wing-cases of the scarab clearly marked, as distinct from the other seals discussed here.

The name Ba'al Ḥn is of interest. Noth<sup>3</sup> notes the name Yhw-Ḥn in the documents from Elephantine, where it is used for women only. The Biblical Ba'al Ḥanan is related: it occurs as the name of an Edomite king (Genesis xxxvi, 38 f., 1 Chron. i, 49 f.) and as an official in the administration of David (1 Chron. xxvii, 28). Names formed with Hanan are numerous in the Bible: Hanan, Hanani, Hananiah, the tower Hananel; Hannibal

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<sup>1</sup> C. J. GADD, *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, London 1938, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> E. POTTIER, *Les Antiquités Assyriennes*, Paris 1917, pl. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> M. NOTH, *Die Israelitischen Personen-Namen*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 62.

of Carthage had the elements of Ba'al Hanan in inversion. The name Hanan appears, too, on the Samaria Ostraka <sup>1</sup>.

The two new seals from Israel, being surface finds, are nevertheless well defined by numerous Phoenician parallels. They demonstrate once more the deep penetration of Phoenician culture into Israel. This penetration and the historical conflicts arising from it in the 8th and 7th centuries are reflected not only in Biblical literature and in the sumptuous ivories from Samaria, but also in private seals such as these.

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<sup>1</sup> G. A. REISNER, C. S. FISHER, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-7 (nos. 43, 45-47).

## AN ANCIENT «MONDSCH EINSONATE»

The seal before us (Fig. 63) is made of black stone<sup>1</sup>. It is 2 cm high, the lower end is 0,8 cm wide and the upper surface 0,4 cm. All four sides are decorated, as well as the lower end. A borehole can be seen on the upper part of the seal as well as a deep groove. Style and content of the decoration leave no doubt that we have before us an object of the Israelite period – the Iron Age, i. e. the 9th or 8th Century B. C., or a little later. In the whole of Israel, especially in the North, there are found seals in this «Neo-Assyrian» Style.

### Description of the Panels:

1. Symbol of the Moon-worship (Fig. 64a). A crescent and a moon disk appear on the head of a staff, two ribbons descend from the disk to each side. The staff is fixed onto an altar or table with two legs. On the sides we see some small circles, perhaps stars are intended.
2. A bearded man in a long dress is holding a lyre (Fig. 64b). Before him there is an altar and a small circle. Above the lyre there is the crescent. The dress of the man is decorated with a chequered pattern and, on its lower edge, tassels. The lyre has eight strings. The altar resembles in its outline the Egyptian 'Ankh sign. The man has a flat cap or a ribbon on his head.
3. A bearded man is holding a double flute (Fig. 64c). He has a long dress, with lines on its lower part. On his head there is a cap or crown of globular shape. His hair descends to the nape of his neck. In front of the person there is an altar which resembles the one on panel 2.
4. Between and above two trees (cypress?), there is an object which resembles a bird (Fig. 64d); this could be a winged sun disk.

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. M. Dayan for permission to publish this seal which is in his collection.

5. The lower part: a bird and a crescent (Fig. 64e).

This grouping reminds us of the hieroglyphic group frequent in Egyptian:  $s^3-R^c$ , «Son of Re», the sun god. Could the meaning of the group here be: son of the Moon-god? In Egyptian there exists the personal name «Son of the Moon-God»  $s^3 I'h^1$ .

More frequent is the name  $s^3 H^cnsu^2$ , Son of Chonsu, Chonsu being another moon-god. This group with Chonsu appears on documents which are more or less contemporary with our seal. We can not be sure that the group on the lower part of the seal is a private name; however, we lack a better interpretation of the signs, and the lower surface would be most fitting for a name.

There exists a fairly large group of seals from this period, of a similar style, which has the symbol of the moon on a staff. This material has been collected monographically by Agnès Spycket<sup>3</sup>. The material collected by her shows elements which appear also on our seal. A map of the distribution shows the sites in which the motif was discovered in the fertile crescent<sup>4</sup>. This stretches from the south of Palestine to Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. It stands to reason, to judge from this map, that the origin of the motif was in Haran. In Haran there was a famous temple of Sin, the moon-god. Another centre of the worship of Sin, older than Haran, was the city of Ur. The Bible tells us that the family of Abraham came from Ur and passed Haran on their way to Canaan.

Agnès Spycket describes in her monography a seal found at Tel Keisan showing a crescent on a staff. In the same site there was discovered another seal showing a man playing the lyre, which has four strings (Fig. 65a-b). He has a long coat and a flat cap on his head. Behind him there is an animal, perhaps a gazelle, and before him an altar, of the type which appears often in this context. We can not know whether the man plays a hymn to the moon, but the fact that the seal was discovered at Tell Keisan and the peculiar style create a connection with the other Keisan seal and with the seal which is the object of our discussion. We bring the drawing of this seal here with kind permission of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. It has conical shape, made of limestone, at its base

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<sup>1</sup> H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, Glückstadt 1953, 280, 13.

<sup>2</sup> RANKE, *op. cit.* 284, 3.

<sup>3</sup> AGNÈS SPYCKET, *Le Culte du dieu-lune à Tell Keisan*, *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973) 384-395; *Id.*, *Nouveaux documents pour illustrer le culte du dieu-lune*, *Revue Biblique* 81 (1974) 258-259.

<sup>4</sup> SPYCKET, *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973) 394.



it is 1.2 cm wide; it is 2.2 cm high. It was found without a significant archaeological context; however, there is no doubt that both seals belong to the Israelite period of the Tell.

To the seals described by Agnès Spycket there can be added one which has been discovered by accident on the surface of Tell el-Fukkhār, ancient Accho (Fig. 66a-c). It shows a man (a priest?) adoring the crescent and a star before an altar which resembles the altar on our seal. In Nippur there was found another seal which belongs to our group (Fig. 67): it belongs to the group not only because of its style and the motif of the admiration of the moon but also because of the worshipper playing the lyre<sup>1</sup>. The man is sitting down and holding a lyre with four strings. Before him there sits a very small figure of a man with hands raised in adoration. The crescent appears in the upper part of this extraordinary seal.

As against this very old tradition of the adoration of the moon in all lands of the Ancient Near East, there stands the interdiction of this worship in the laws of the Bible and in the preachings of the prophets: the moon-cult came to Israel from the north, and its carriers were the Phoenicians and the Aramaeans. In Sinjirli there was discovered a relief of Barrakib showing the crescent and the moon disk with the Aramaic inscription: *mr'j b'l hrn*, «my lord, Ba'al of Harran»<sup>2</sup>. Besides the preaching against moon-worship, we have the touching testimony of Job concerning the very strong attraction the moon had for him. It may be that the attraction of moon-worship was for the circle to which Job belonged stronger than that of the Baalim and Astarte.

If I ever looked on the sun in splendour  
or the moon moving in her glory  
and was led astray in my secret heart  
and raised my hand in homage,  
this would have been an offence before the law  
for I should have been unfaithful to God on high. Job, 31, 26-28.

The two musical instruments which we see on these seals were of great importance in the religion of Israel and other people: the lyre and the flute. The Biblical flute was a double flute. In Megiddo there was found

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<sup>1</sup> L. LEGRAIN. The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collection of the Museum, Philadelphia 1925, 311 (No. 627). I wish to thank Prof. O. Keel for this reference.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. BARNETT, The Gods of Zinjirli, *Compte Rendu de l'Onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1962) Leiden 1964, 75-76, Pl. 3.

a female flutist and she is playing the double flute<sup>1</sup>. In Akhziv (north of Accho) a similar statuette, of clay, was discovered<sup>2</sup>. In Tell el Far'ah (in the south of Palestine) an ivory box was found (at present in the Palestine Archeological Museum, Rockefeller Museum)<sup>3</sup>. This box belongs to the Late Bronze Period. On it we see the representation of a feast, and amongst the revellers, a woman with a double flute. This is a case of profane use of the flute. It seems that the statuettes served a cult purpose.

The lyre has a long history in Mesopotamia and Palestine. In Palestine there were found a number of statuettes and representations which show lyre players. Thus, for instance, the lyre player from Ashdod, a miniature sculpture<sup>4</sup>; another lyre player is part of a cult vessel<sup>5</sup>. On the well known «Philistine beer bottle» from Megiddo there is a curious parade of animals, amongst which there walks a lyre player, with a scorpion on his shoulder<sup>6</sup>.

Amongst the Megiddo ivories – of the Late Canaanite Period –, there was one depicting a feast of victory. Amongst the persons depicted, there is a lyre player<sup>7</sup>.

In the Bible the lyre is mentioned as a cultic musical instrument, for joyous occasions, and even for mourning and for war.

On our seals we see the use of flute and lyre for pagan worship – the cult of the moon in the time of the first temple. We have quite a great deal of objects which show the penetration of foreign religious habits into Israel, an influence which came to Israel from the north. The source of this was to a great part Phoenician and in these cases the influences are often Egyptian in content and style. Some of the objects show the «Syrian style», with strong influences from Mesopotamia. To this later group belongs our present seal. In wide circles in Israel at the time there was quite a liberal attitude toward works of art: no real danger for monotheism was seen in these pagan objects. The words of Job which we quoted show that there was some understanding of the feelings which the beauty and majesty of the moon cause. This caused poets and musicians at all time to sing the beauty of the moon.

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<sup>1</sup> O. KEEL, *Die Welt des altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*, Zürich/Neukirchen 1972, 322 fig. 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 322 fig. 464.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Beth Pelet I*, London 1930, pl. LVa.

<sup>4</sup> M. DOTHAN, *Ashdod II–III*, Jerusalem 1971, pl. 55, 1; KEEL, *op. cit.* (note 8) 324, fig. 469.

<sup>5</sup> M. DOTHAN, *Archaeology* 23 (1970) 310.

<sup>6</sup> G. LOUD, *Megiddo I*, Chicago 1948, pl. 76, 1; KEEL, *op. cit.* (note 8) 323, fig. 468.

<sup>7</sup> G. LOUD, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Chicago 1938, pl. 4; KEEL, *op. cit.* (note 8) 149, fig. 233.

## SEALS AND SEAL-IMPRESSIONS OF THE XXVth EGYPTIAN DYNASTY IN WESTERN ASIA

The time of the XXVth Dynasty in Egypt (751–656 B.C.) was a decisive one for the interrelations of Egypt, Assyria, Israel and Phoenicia. A certain amount of evidence for this can be found in Egyptian and Assyrian documents and in the Bible. In fact, one of the kings of the Cushite Dynasty is one of the few Pharaohs mentioned by name in the Bible<sup>1</sup>.

Most of the evidence being royal and official, it seems worthwhile to investigate the realia of the relations between Egypt and Asia at this time. Statues<sup>2</sup> and stone vases<sup>3</sup>, or their fragments, of Egyptian origin have been found. They are in most cases indirect evidence, spoil of war taken by the Assyrians from the Phoenician cities. Seals and sealings are an important source for these contacts, though small scarabs may have reached Asia in many ways and on various occasions.

### *Shabako*

#### 1. The Great Historical Scarab

This scarab, now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, has been admirably discussed by J. Yoyotte in two papers<sup>4</sup>. The object was first

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations adopted in the *Revue d'Égyptologie* are being used (see «Index des tomes 1–20». Paris, 1972, pp. 132–137). For Taharka in the Bible see: II Kings, XIX, 9 = Isaiah XXXVII, 9. Astour regards Sabta and Sabteca in Genesis X, 7 as identical with Shabako and Shebitku. (M. C. ASTOUR: *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 84 (1965), pp. 422–425).

<sup>2</sup> W. K. SIMPSON: *Sumer* 10 (1954), pp. 193–194; V. VIKENTIEV: *Sumer* 11 (1955), pp. 111–116; E. DRIOTON-J. VANDIER: *L'Égypte* (4<sup>e</sup> éd.). Paris, 1962, p. 676. The Statue of «Sabacon and Amenardis» (PM VII, p. 382) in Como, which is labeled as coming from Jerusalem, is a fake. I should like to thank the director of the «Civico Museo Archeologico 'Giovio'», Prof. F. Rittatore von Willer, for the photographs and information concerning origin and measures kindly provided.

<sup>3</sup> AfO 10, 1935–6, p. 94; PM VII, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *Biblica* 35 (1956), pp. 457–476; 39 (1958), pp. 206–210.

seen in 1906 in Syria, then in Jerusalem in 1910, when it was bought by C.T. Currelly for the museum in Toronto. It is about 10 cm. long and 7 cm. wide. The part of the inscription which is of interest here reads:

«... Shabako has destroyed those who revolted against him in Upper and Lower Egypt and amongst all foreign nations. The Sand-Dwellers<sup>1</sup> who revolted against him were defeated by the fear which he inspires. They came by themselves, as prisoners because one had quarrelled with the other...»

## 2. Sealings on jar stopper from Kuyunjik (Ninive) (Fig. 68)

The two nearly identical objects are in the British Museum<sup>2</sup>. On both the king is shown subduing an enemy; he lifts a short sword in his right (?) arm, holding in his other arm an enemy, whose representation is missing. He is also holding a flail in this hand. Above and in front of the king there is the inscription:

«The good god Shabako, lord of action.»

The «action» in these contexts is the whole of the ritual acts of the king, of which the ritual slaughter of the enemy was part.

Behind the king we read:

«Protection and life around (him)».

To the left of the cartouche there is a group of damaged hieroglyphs to be restored: «I have given thee...».

There was no room, on the original seal, for a god who is usually presented as saying these words; the prisoner, too, must have been kneeling and of small stature to fit into the frame.

The back of the fragments show the impression of fine linen. Petrie describes a similar stopper of Shabako, found at Tell Defenneh, in the Eastern Delta, thus: «This (pottery plug) was fastened down sometimes with strings alone, sometimes by a piece of thin linen beneath the string; the cast of the linen, as thin as muslin, may be seen in the plaster cap»<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For a localisation of this group along the coastal strip of Palestine and Phoenicia see B. COUROYER, RB 78 (1971), pp. 558-575.

<sup>2</sup> No. 84527 and No. 84884; A. H. LAYARD: Discoveries in Ninive and Babylon, London 1853, p. 156; H. R. HALL: Catalogue of the Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum. I. London, 1913, p. 290; PM VII, p. 397. Dr. R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum very kindly allowed me to use here the new drawings of this object and the other British Museum objects discussed here. These drawings were made by Miss Ann Searight for the «Catalogue of Egyptian Seals in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities» which I am preparing.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, Tanis II, London 1888, p. 72.

On one of the fragments in the British Museum (No. 84884) there is an additional seal impression in Assyrian style showing a king in adoration before a deity (Fig. 69).

Quite a number of authors regard these sealings as coming from a treaty between Assyria and Egypt or from some other diplomatic document on papyrus<sup>1</sup>. However, these sealings, applied to stoppers of large storage jars, belong doubtlessly to the field of commercial relation between Egypt and Mesopotamia at the time. The Assyrian sealing on one of the fragments would seem to preclude the possibility that Egyptian export to Assyria was in play<sup>2</sup>.

### 3. Sealing on jar handle from Megiddo<sup>3</sup>

The reading of the hieroglyphs of this damaged sealing as *nfr-k3-r'* i.e. the prenomen of Shabako, is not beyond all doubt. The *k3* has a curious shape and there is another, unexplained alphabetical sign (§) in the inscription.

### 4. Scarab from the Gaza region<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 70a-c)

This wellmade steatite scarab has the prenomen of the king, *Nfr-k3-r'* and *Hr3hty* «Horus of the Horizon».

### 5. Plaque from Palestine (Fig. 71a-b)

The exact origin of this steatite plaque is not known. The inscription reads: The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The good god, Lord of the (two) countries, *Nfr-k3-r'*. There is only one sign for «country» instead of the usual «two countries» by which Upper and Lower Egypt were meant.

Theoretically, the seals with *Nfr-k3-r'* could also be of Ramses IX. However, Ramses VI being the last king of the XXth Dynasty attested so far in Western Asia, this seems unlikely. The other side of the plaque has the Udjat eye.

---

<sup>1</sup> E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums III* (2. Ed.) Stuttgart 1937, p. 43; H. v. ZEISSEL, *Äthiopen und Assyrer in Ägypten*. Äg. Forsch. 14, Glückstadt 1944, p. 22, n. 84; H. TADMOR, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 12 (1958) p. 84; K. A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, Warminster 1973, p. 380, § 341.

<sup>2</sup> DRIOTON-VANDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

<sup>3</sup> R. S. LAMON-G. M. SHIPTON, *Megiddo I*, Chicago 1939, pl. 115, 4; A. ROWE, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Le Caire* 1936, p. 207; PM VII, p. 381.

<sup>4</sup> This and the following item are in the collection of Mr. R. Braun, Jerusalem, who kindly permitted publication.

## *Shebitku*

A scarab, broken, has an inscription which may be the beginning of Shebitku's prenomen. It was discovered during the excavations at Samaria (Sebastie) <sup>1</sup>. If it is of Shebitku, it is, according to the pottery found with it, not in context.

## *Taharka*

### 1. Sealing from Palmyra

This object is in the British Museum <sup>2</sup>. It is impressed «on a lump of fayence of uncertain date» <sup>3</sup>. This seems to be a late use of an older seal for the preparation of tesserae (like the following item). It proves that Taharka's scarabs were available in this region hundreds of years after his death.

The text on Taharka's sealing reads:

«Amun has caused Taharka to appear so that he should live eternally» <sup>4</sup>.

### 2. Another sealing from Palmyra <sup>5</sup>.

This has the same inscription as the foregoing; it is also a tessera. It has a female head on its back.

### 3. Scarab (Fig. 72a-c)

This scarab is made of white frit. A cartouche, crowned with two *m3't*-feathers, contains the nomen of Taharka, summarily written. The cartouche stands on the *nwb* (gold) sign. On both sides of the cartouche there is an ureaus with the crown of Lower Egypt, and beneath this the sign *w3d*, «green, fresh». This object, in the author's possession, comes from a dealer in Jerusalem; though its exact origin is not known, it certainly comes from Palestine or Syria and not from Egypt.

---

<sup>1</sup> J. W. CROWFOOT-G. M. CROWFOOT-K. M. KENYON, *Samaria-Sebastie III: The Objects*, London 1957, p. 86. ROWE, *op. cit.*, p. 208; PM VII, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> No. 48116.

<sup>3</sup> S. BIRCH, *TSBA* 7 (1882), p. 208; HALL, *op. cit.*, p. 291; W. M. F. PETRIE, *History of Egypt III*, London 1918, fig. 124; PM VII, p. 396.

<sup>4</sup> Yoyotte, *Biblica* 37 (1956), p. 469.

<sup>5</sup> H. INGHOLT, *Actes du 5<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de l'histoire des religions*, Lund 1930, p. 146; H. INGHOLT, H. SEYRIG, J. STARCKY, A. CAQUOT, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*. Paris 1955, p. 125, No. 988, pl. 45.

#### 4. Scarab from Kuyunjik

This scarab in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> shows the Nile-god Hapy kneeling before an obelisk. Behind him is the bee of Lower Egypt and a cartouche with the inscription *mn-hpr-r'*, i.e. the prenomen of Thutmosis III. Leclant and Yoyotte have shown that this scarab, and others of this type, with or without the name of Taharka, are of the year 6 of that king, the year of the extraordinary high inundation of the Nile<sup>2</sup>.

The scarab just mentioned raises the question of the possible dating of the many late seals with *mn-hpr-r'* found in Western Asia. They may be survivals of the memory of the great king of the XVIIIth Dynasty, they may belong to the high priest of that name from the time of the XXIst Dynasty, or belong to the XXVth Dynasty. The problem poses itself also concerning a clay sealing from Kuyunjik which has *mn-hpr-r'*<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 73). The name appears in a cartouche. A boat appears on one side of that cartouche, a lion on the other; a cord design forms the frame of the whole.

If we disregard the possibility that we have here an object of the XVIIIth or XXIst Dynasty on grounds of style and because of the time-lag concerning the other objects from the site discussed here, then there are two candidates from the XXVth Dynasty: Piankhy and Shebitku. There is no doubt that Piankhy adopted the name *mn-hpr-r'* at times<sup>4</sup>. However, Shebitku should be considered also as a strong possibility: his prenomen *dd-k(w)-r'* appears alternating with *mn-hpr-r'* on a necklace found in a tomb of one of his horses<sup>5</sup> and in another horse-tomb of the king there was found a fayence cartouche with *mn-hpr-r'*<sup>6</sup>. There may be a time during the rule of either Piankhy or Shebitku, especially at the latter part of their rules, when trade relations with Assyria were possible, of which the Kuyunjik sealing would be a token.

The evidence of these seals and sealings connects very well with the Cushite inscriptions in Kawa which mention Asiatic goods: lapislazuli, turquoise, two kinds of wood imported from Asia<sup>7</sup>. «Mentiu of Asia» are employed in the vineyards of Gempaton<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> HALL, op. cit., p. 152 (No. 98716 in the British Museum).

<sup>2</sup> J. LECLANT-J. YOYOTTE, *Kêmi* 10 (1945), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, No. 84526. HALL, op. cit., p. 290. The lion, depicted in the drawing there can not be discerned anymore in the object at present. PM VII, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> J. v. BECKERATH, *MDIAK* 24 (1969), pp. 58-62.

<sup>5</sup> D. DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1950, p. 113, 19.4-71 Ku. 209 (4).

<sup>6</sup> DUNHAM, op. cit., p. 113. 19.4-91. Ku 210.

<sup>7</sup> M. F. L. MACADAM, *The Temples of Kawa*, London 1949. Inscriptions III, VI, VIII; J. LECLANT-J. YOYOTTE, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> MACADAM, op. cit., pl. 11, inscription VI, 21.

At Medinet Habu there exists a relief showing Taharka slaying Asiatics<sup>1</sup>. Only two toponyms are preserved: *tp*<sup>2</sup>, and *tšr*<sup>3</sup>; these do not yield much information and may not even be Asiatic. Of Taharka we possess two longer and more explicit lists of toponyms. One, from the temple of Mut at Karnak, is a copy of a list of Amenhotep III in the temple of Amun at Karnak<sup>4</sup>. Another list was found at Sanam<sup>5</sup>. This is a «universalistic» enumeration of foreign peoples, and names only two Asiatic groups.

These lists do not reveal anything significant about the actual activities of the XXVth Dynasty in Asia. They are, however, of importance because they indicate the attitude of the Cushite Kings to Asia: their activities in the north-east were mainly in the field of intrigues against Assyria and support of local rulers who were ready to rebel against Assyria – an activity in which Egypt proved to be, in the end, a «bruised reed» (Isaiah XXXVI, 6). There was also commerce. However, intervention in the politics of Western Asia and commerce there were regarded by the Pharaohs of the XXVth Dynasty as being in the great tradition of Asiatic conquests of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties.

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<sup>1</sup> J. F. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* II, Paris 1845, pl. 196.

<sup>2</sup> H. S. FISHER, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 264–265, pl. 8.

<sup>3</sup> H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* VI, Le Caire 1931, 63.

<sup>4</sup> J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*. Leiden 1937, p. 187 (List XXXVI). PM II, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> F. L. GRIFFITH, *Sanam*, AAA 9 (1922), pl. 41, p. 105; PM VII, p. 199 (11–12).



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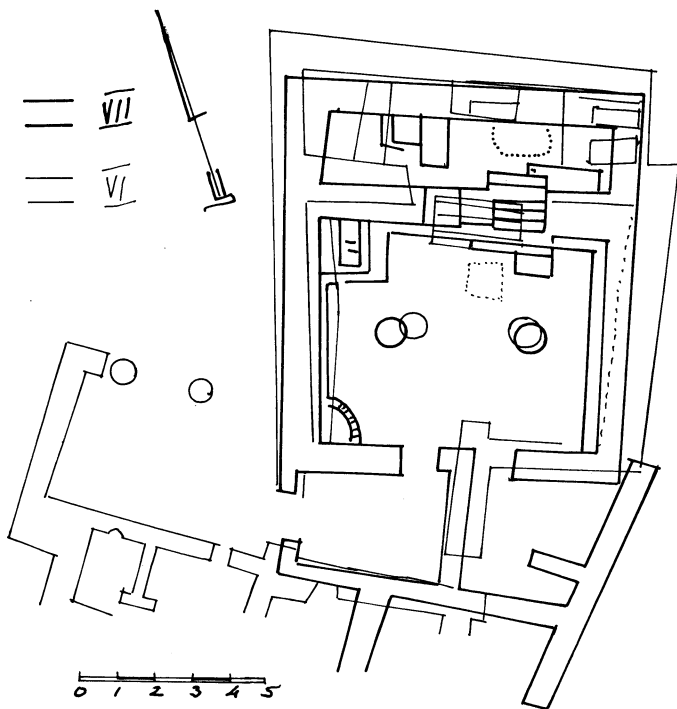
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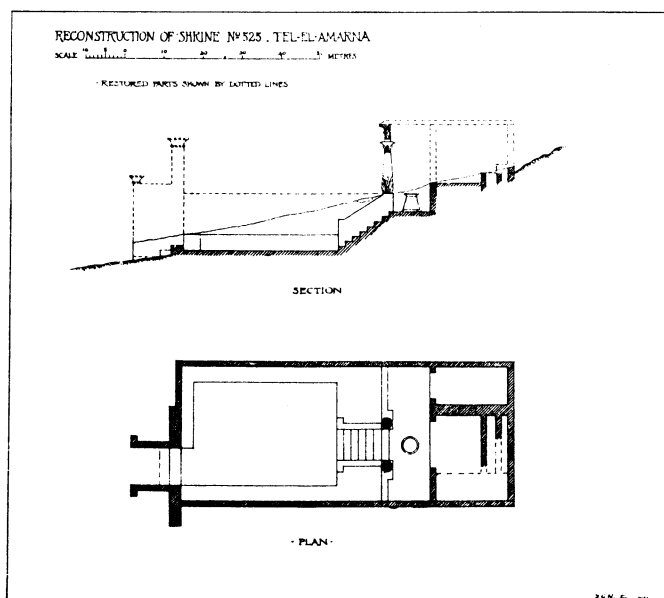
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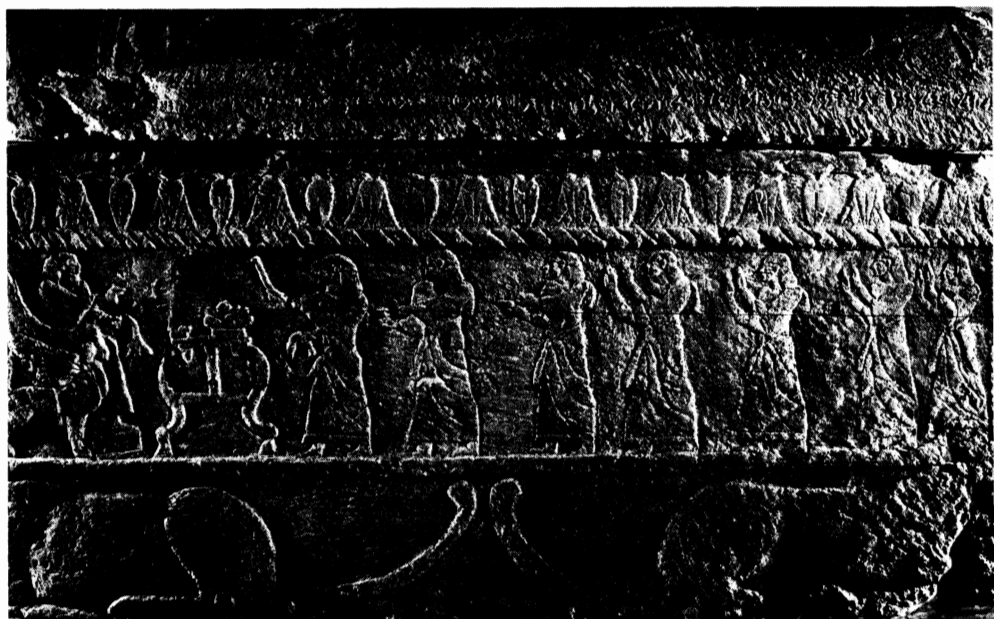
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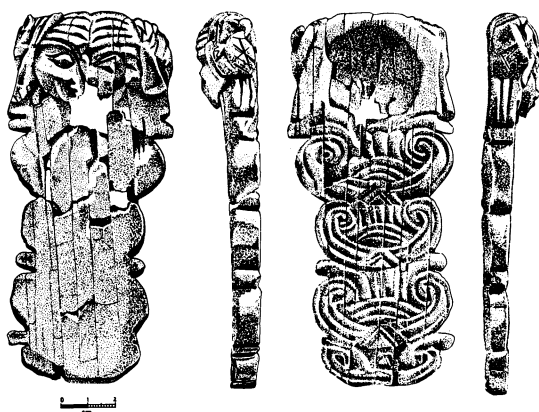
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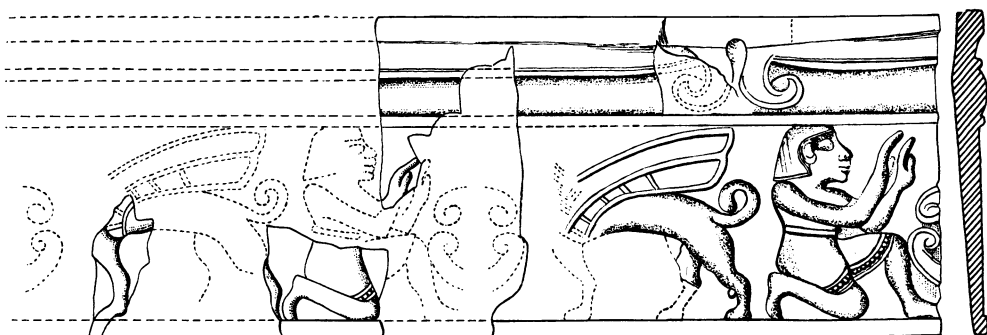
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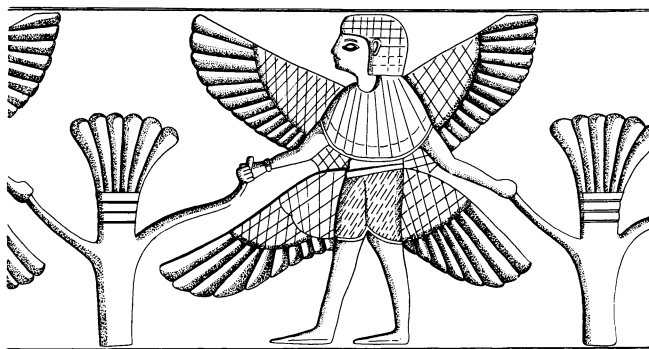
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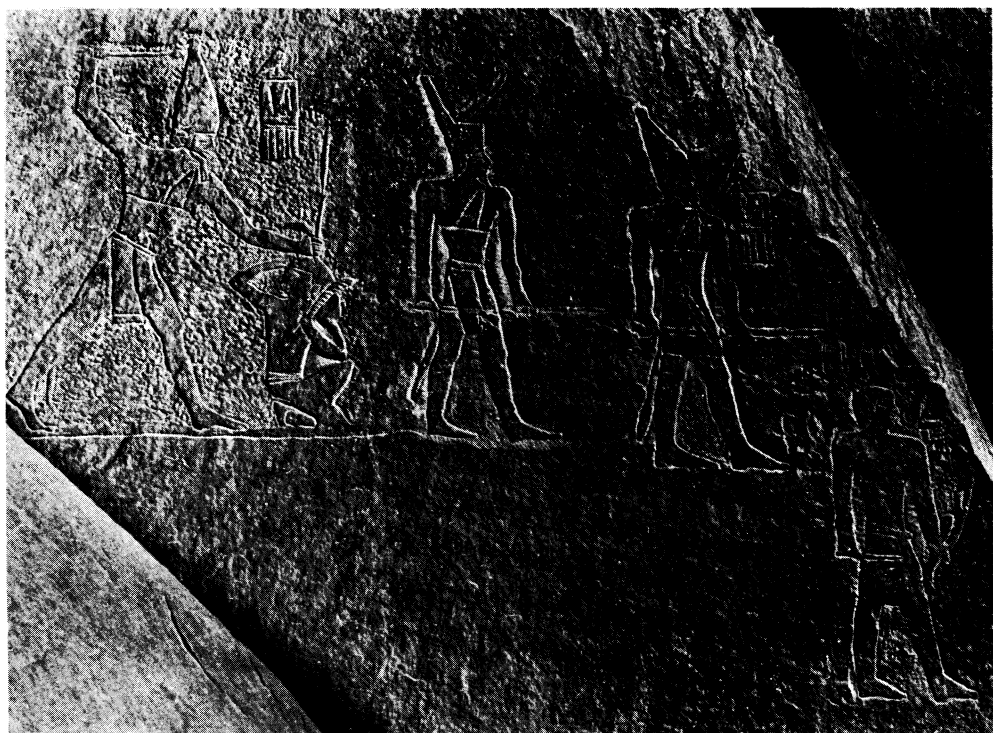
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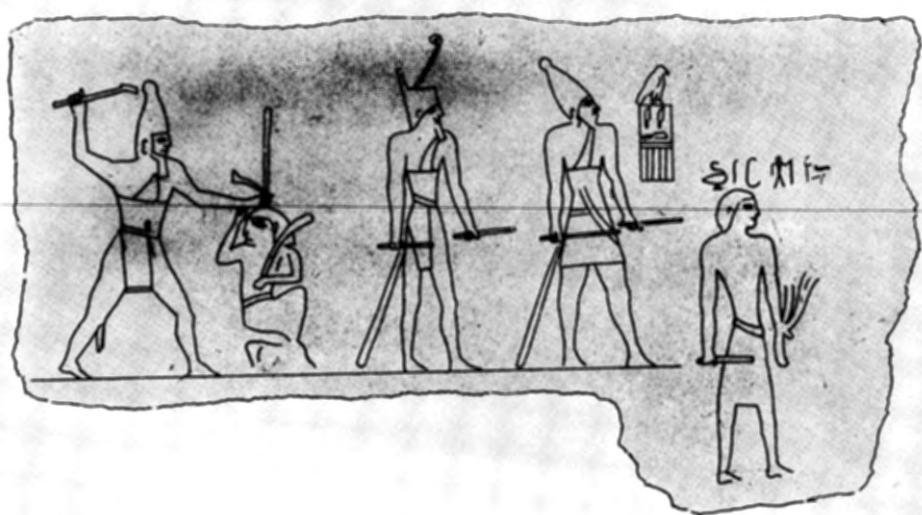
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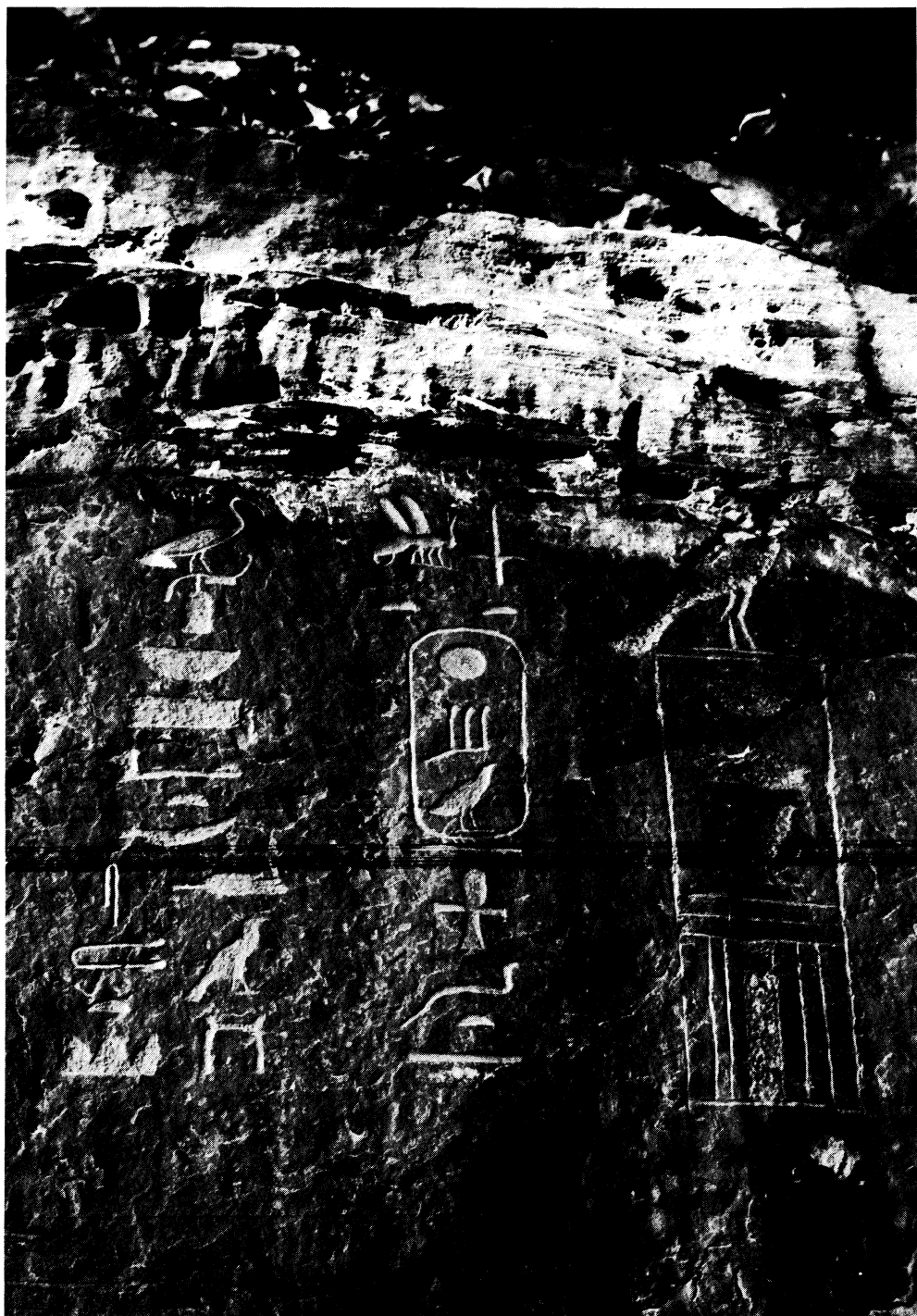
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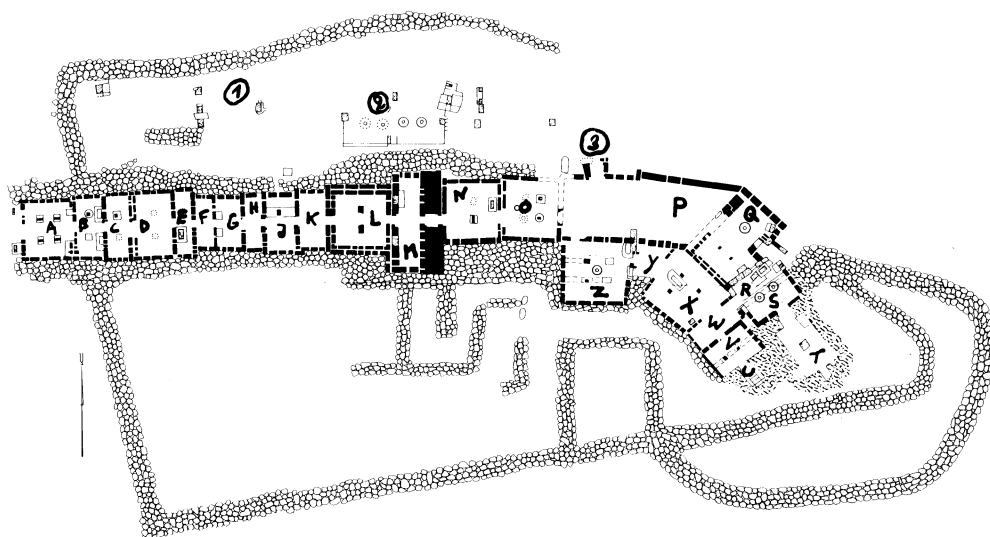


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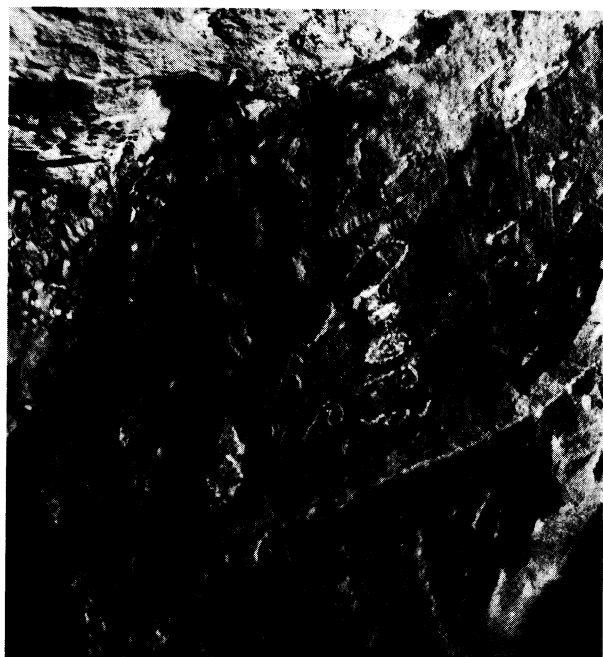
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1. Approach to Cave; 2. Shrine of the Kings; 3. North Door. Q Sanctuary; T Cave of Hathor; U Cave of Sopdu; X Lesser Hanafiyah; Z Hathor Hanafiyah.





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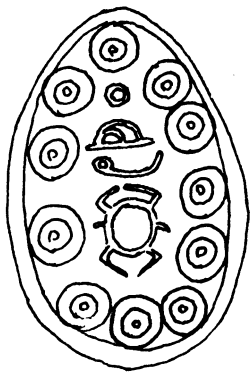
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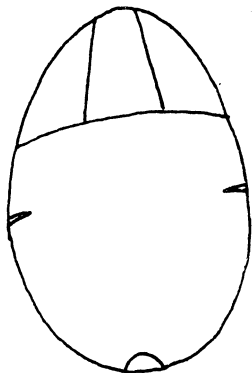
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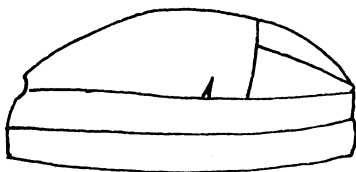
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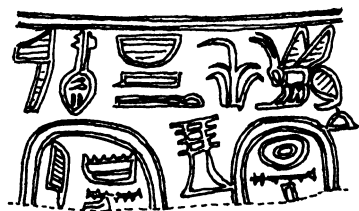
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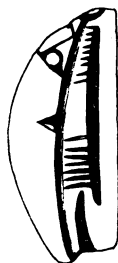
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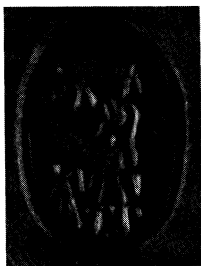
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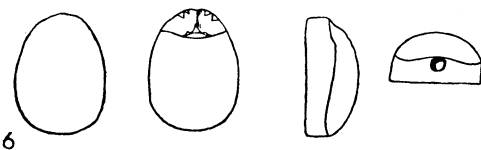
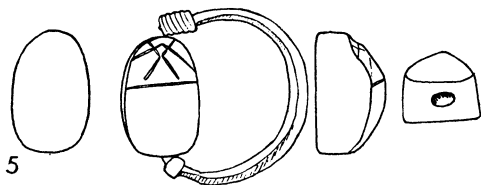
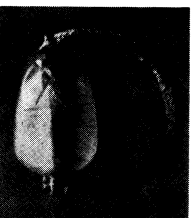
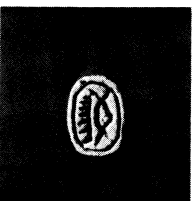
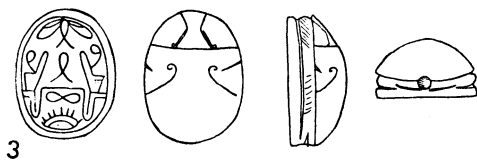
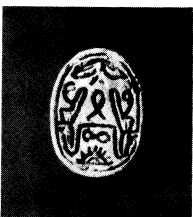
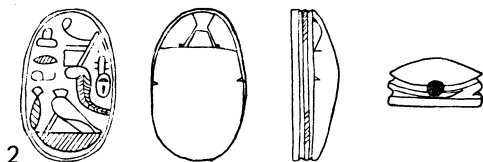
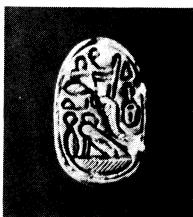
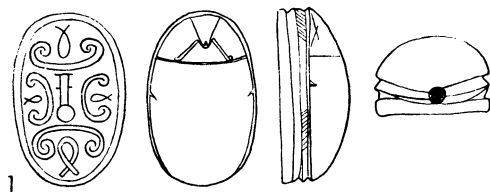
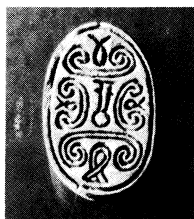


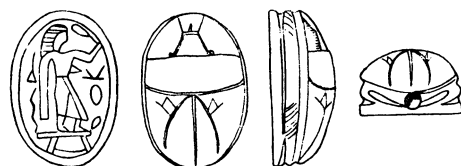
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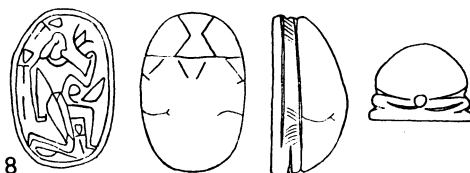
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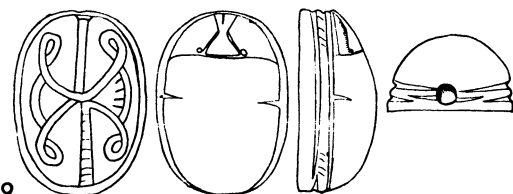




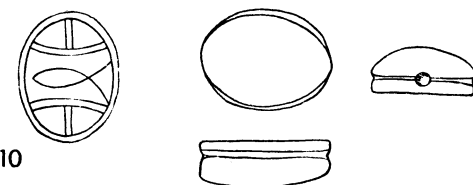
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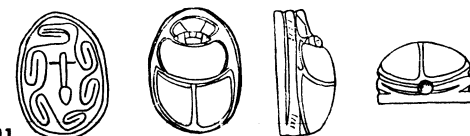
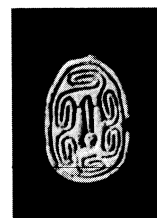
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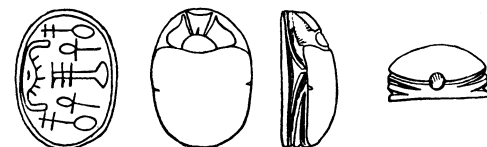
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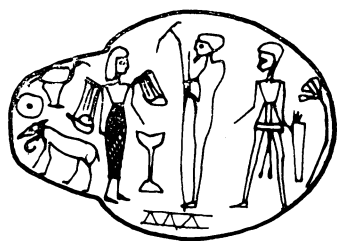
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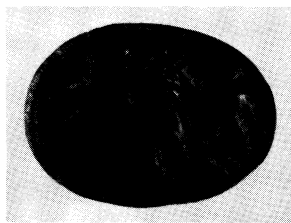
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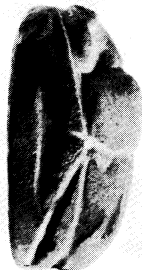
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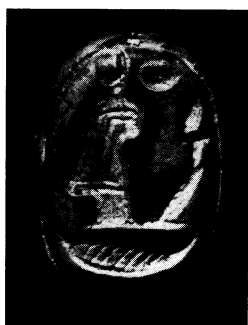
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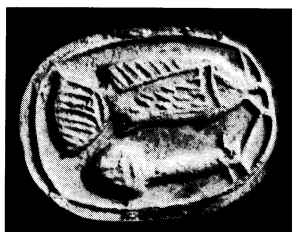
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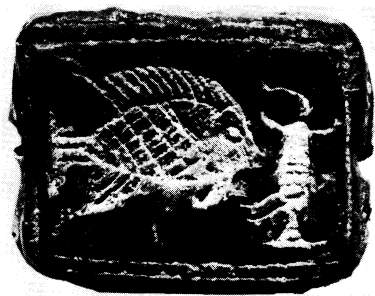
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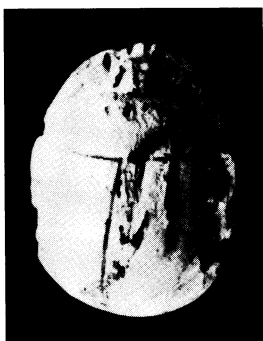
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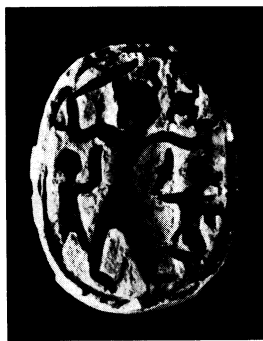
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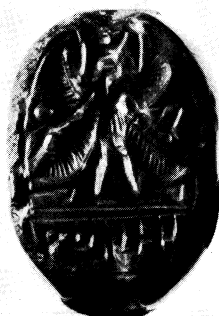




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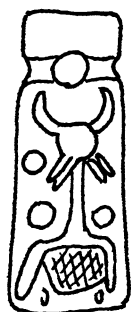
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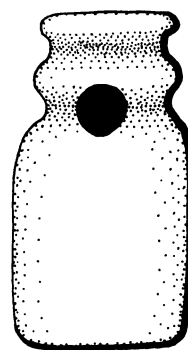
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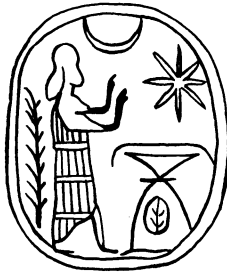
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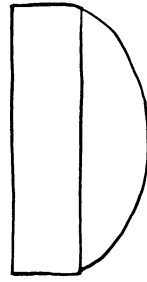
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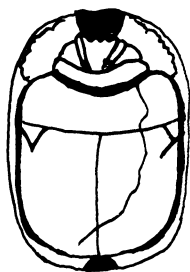
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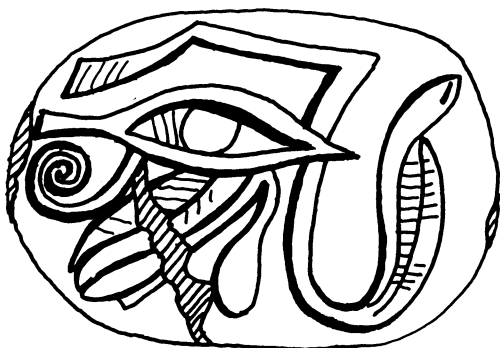
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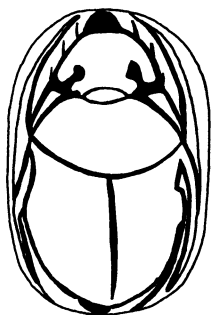
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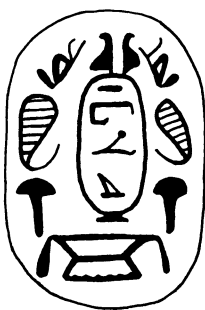
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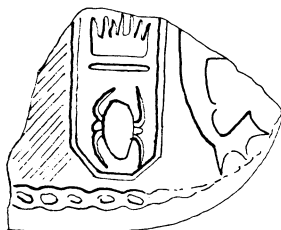
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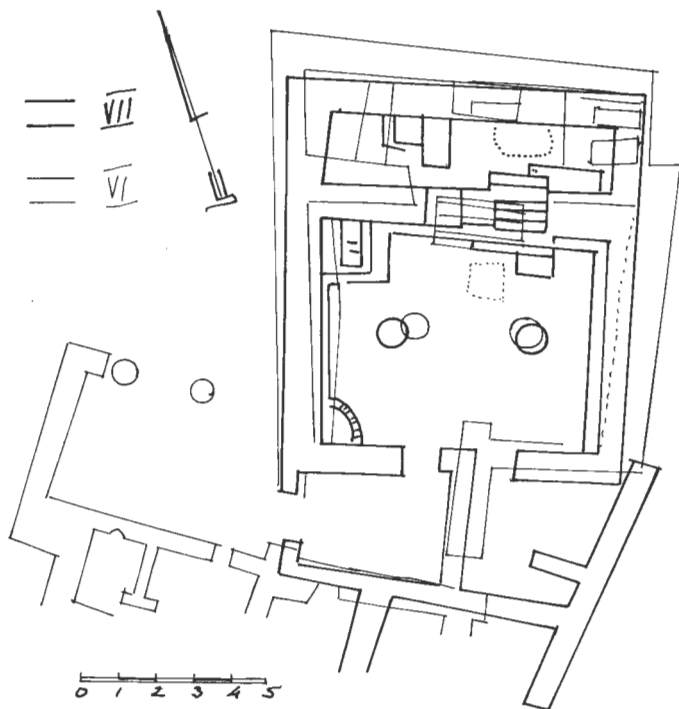


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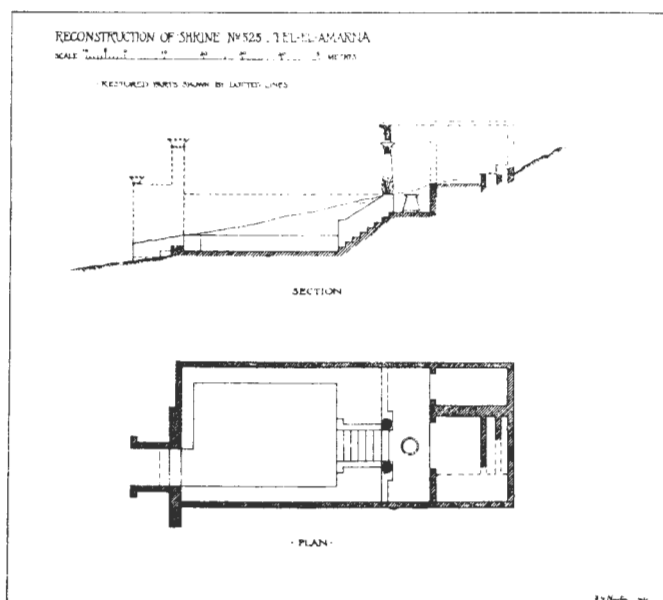
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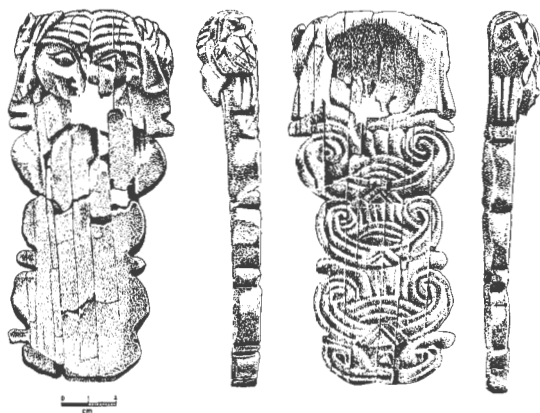
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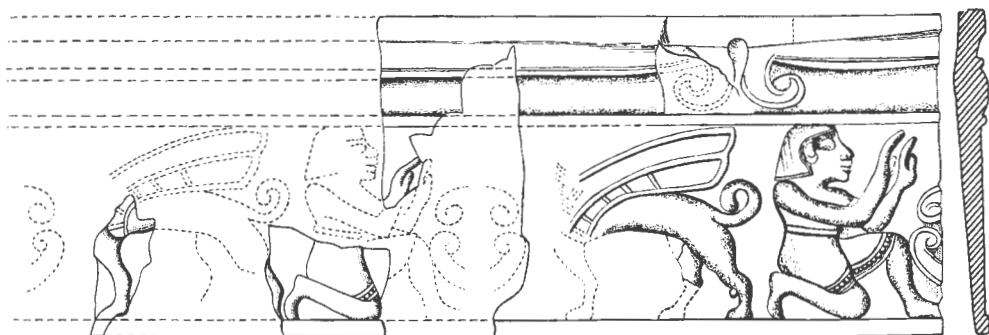
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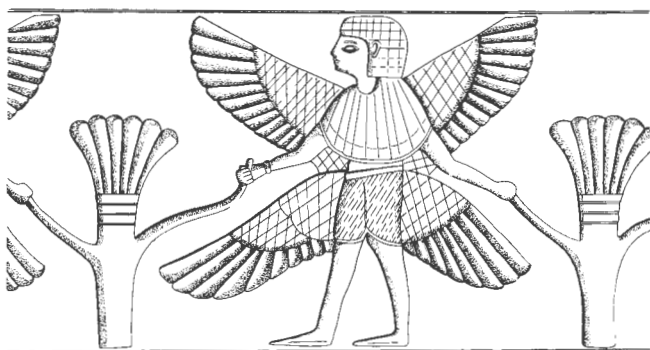
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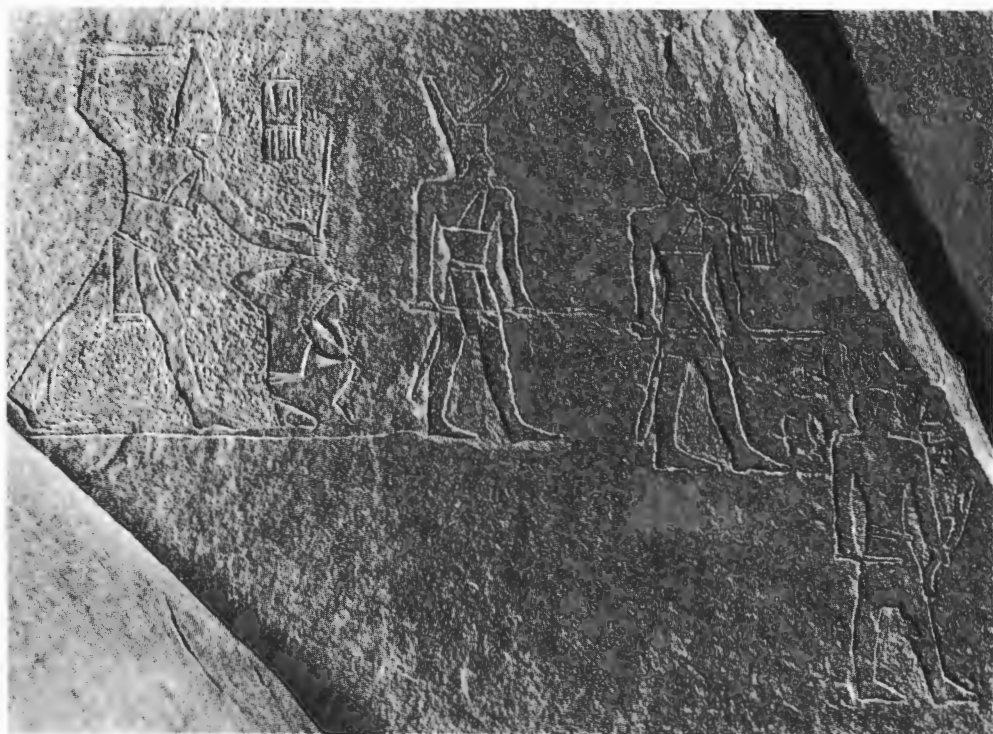
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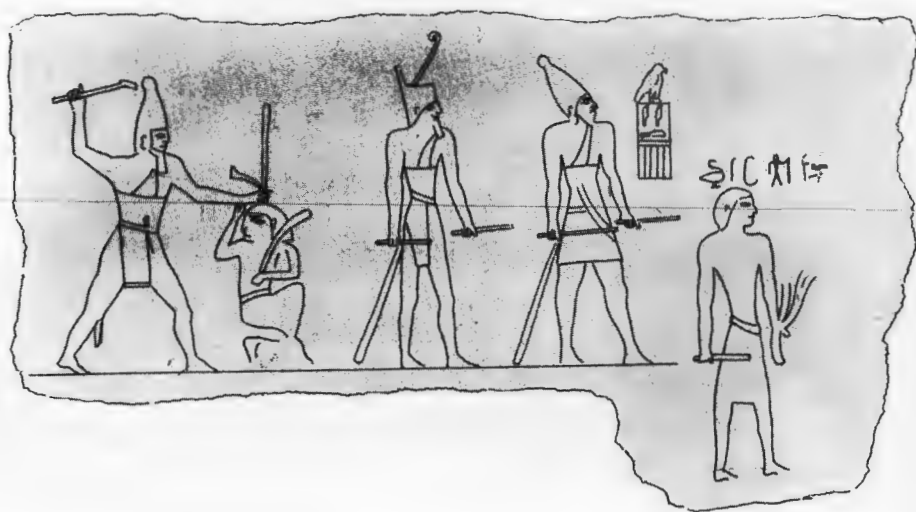
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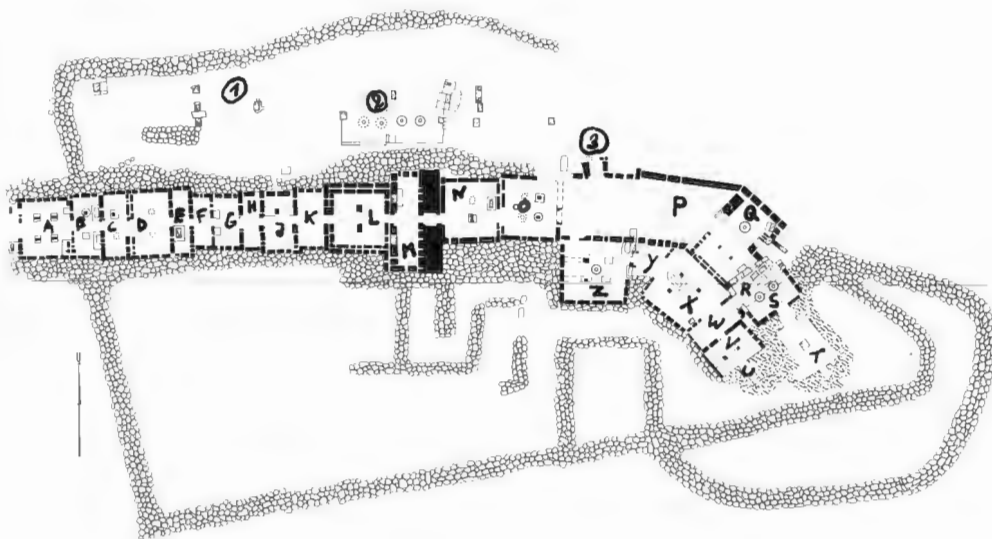


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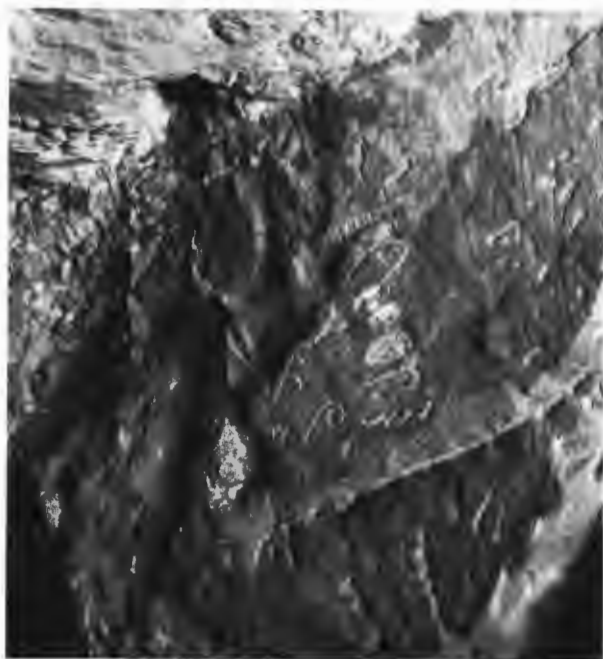
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1. Approach to Cave; 2. Shrine of the Kings; 3. North Door. Q Sanctuary; T Cave of Hathor; U Cave of Sopdu; X Lesser Hanafiyah; Z Hathor Hanafiyah.





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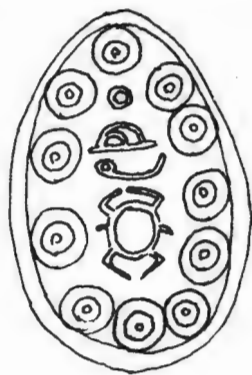
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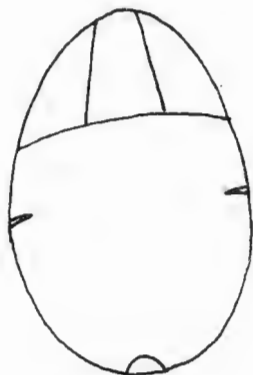
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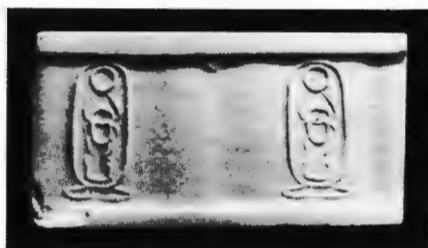
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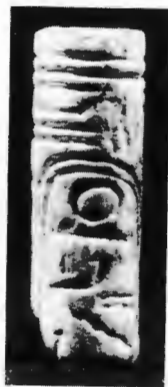
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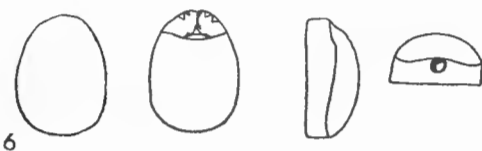
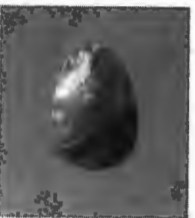
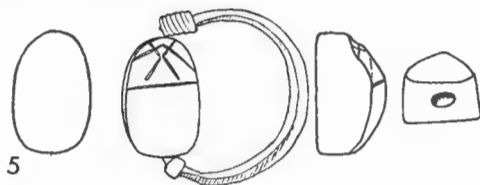
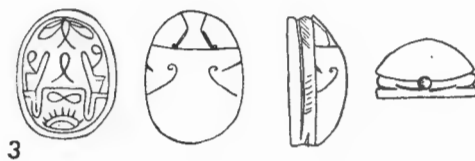
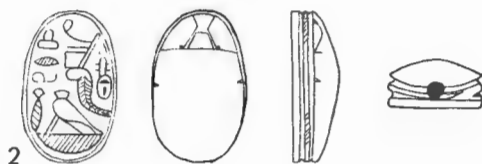
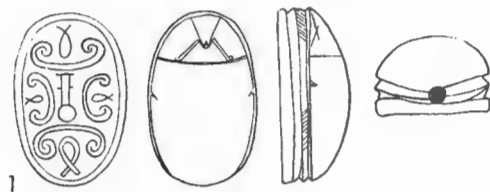


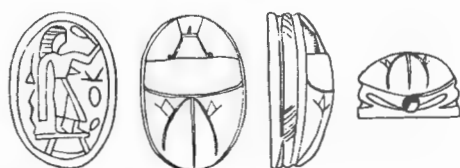
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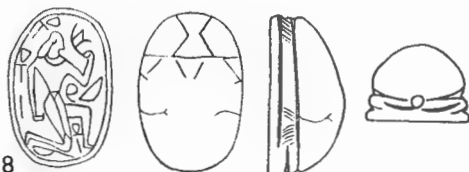
41 (2:1) p. 84



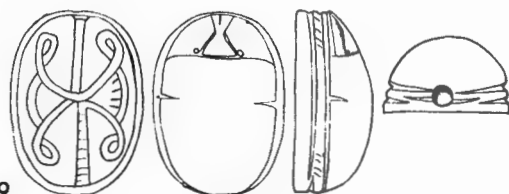




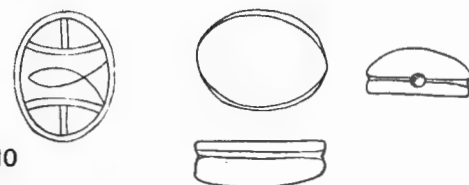
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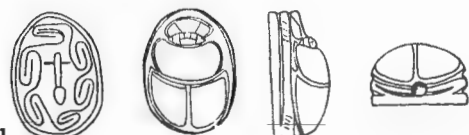
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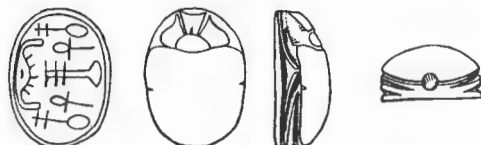
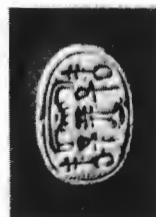
9



10



11



12



44a (2:1) p. 88



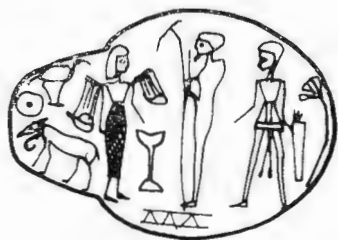
44b (2:1) p. 89



45a (2:1) p. 90



45b (2:1) p. 90



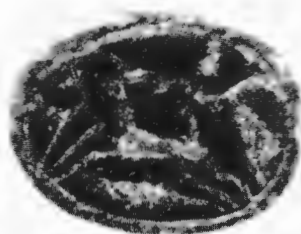
46a (2:1) p. 90



46b (2:1) p. 90



47a p. 91



47b p. 91



47c p. 91



48a p. 95



48b p. 95



48c p. 95



49 (2:1) p. 97



50a (1:1) p. 99



50b (1:1) p. 99



50c (1:1) p. 99



51a (2:1) p. 100



51b (2:1) p. 100



51c (2:1) p. 100



52a (2:1) p. 100



52b (2:1) p. 100



52c (2:1) p. 100



53 p. 102



54a (2:1) p. 105



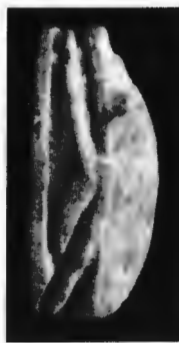
54b (2:1) p. 105



55a (2:1) p. 106



55b (2:1) p. 106



55c (2:1) p. 106



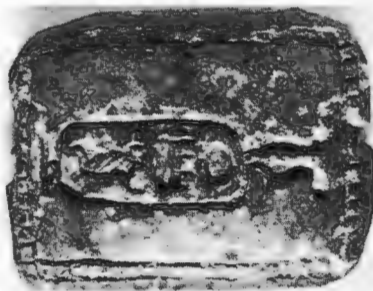
56a (ca. 2:1) p. 106



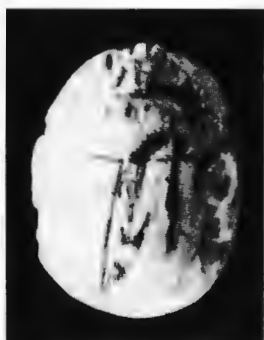
56b (ca. 2:1) p. 106



57a (2:1) p. 106



57b (2:1) p. 106



58a (2:1) p. 107



58b (2:1) p. 107



59 (2:1) p. 110





60 p. 112



61a (2:1) p. 114



61b (2:1) p. 114



61c (2:1) p. 114



62a (2:1) p. 115



62b (2:1) p. 115



62c (2:1) p. 115



63 (2:1) p. 117



64a p. 117



64b p. 117



64c p. 117



64d p. 117



64e p. 117



65a (2:1) p. 118



65b (2:1) p. 118



66a (2:1) p. 119



66b (2:1) p. 119



66c (2:1) p. 119



67 p. 119



68 p. 122



69 p. 123



70a p. 123



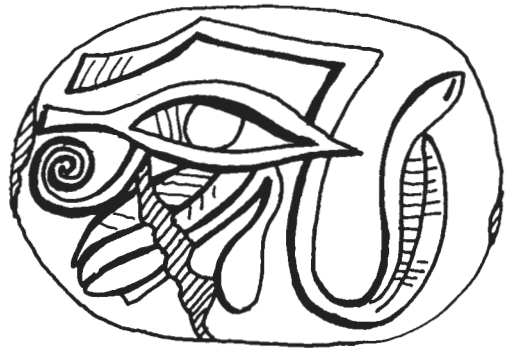
70b p. 123



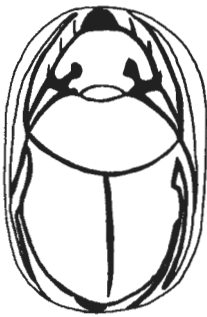
70c p. 123



71a p. 123



71b p. 123



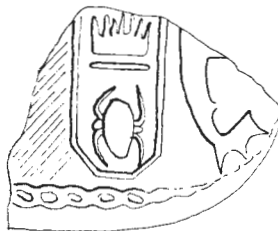
72a p. 124



72b p. 124



72c p. 124



73 p. 125